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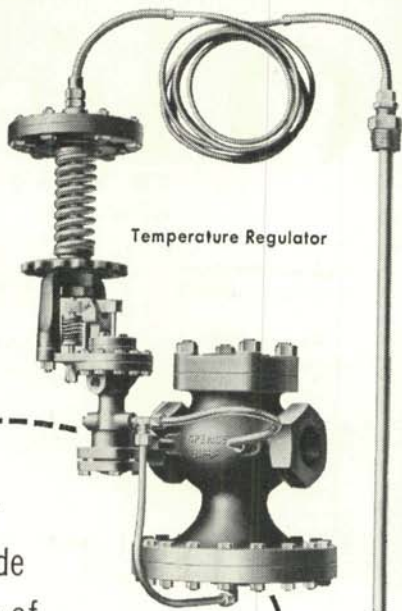
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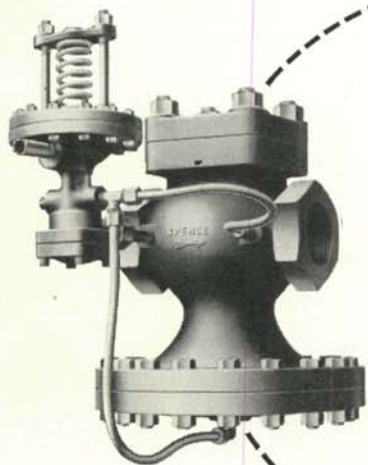
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A M E R I C A N MERCURY

TO BEAR WITNESS TO THE TRUTH

APRIL 1959

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Why Build the Atom-Powered Bomber?	5
<i>Zygmunt Litynski</i>	
My Memories of Pius XII.....	8
<i>T. J. Kiernan</i>	
What's Wrong With Boxing...John V. Grombach	15
Patriotic Young Americans.....	27
<i>Carol Finger</i>	
The Edacious Spider.....	29
<i>John L. Leslie</i>	
The Dubious Origin of the Fourteenth Amendment.....	30
<i>Walter J. Suthon</i>	
Americana.....	34
IN THE MERCURY'S OPINION....	36
<i>Russell Maguire</i>	
This We Face.....	38
<i>Ralph de Toledano</i>	
Jimmy Hoffa's Plan for Conquest	
<i>Robert E. Thompson</i>	47
The Job Reuther Wants....	63
<i>Harold Lord Varney</i>	
Clear It With COPE.....	70
<i>Willard Edwards</i>	
Racketeer & Communist Dominated Unions...	78
The Republican Debacle in California	
<i>Cal Stanford</i>	113
The Ways of Big Daddy	
<i>James W. Vander Zanden</i>	120
Wit's End.....	126
Spotlight on Performance....	128
<i>William H. Allen</i>	
You Can't Kill an Umpire..	130
<i>Raymond Schuessler</i>	
African Agriculture.....	134
<i>Ray Vicker</i>	
How To Be a Successful Hypochondriac	
<i>T. F. James</i>	140
Bible Prophecy V.....	144
<i>Howard B. Rand</i>	
He Solved the Mystery of the Eel	
<i>Justin F. Denzel</i>	149
Bookshelf.....	153
MERCURY FORUM.....	157



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Mercury Memos

Robert E. Thompson is a well-known Washington newspaper man who has specialized in the coverage of labor and union activities. After leaving International News Service, he joined the staff of the McClellan Committee in its investigation of labor unions. In his article "JIMMY HOFFA'S PLAN FOR CONQUEST" on page 47, he has made a definitive study of the Teamster boss and his union activities. Married and a resident of Washington, D. C., Mr. Thompson expects to leave the Committee shortly and return to the newspaper field.

Ralph de Toledano, the author of "THIS WE FACE," on page 38, is at present a member of the Washington staff on *Newsweek Magazine*. His knowledge of Communism and communist activities in the United States is profound. He is well remembered for his hard-hitting authoritative study, *Seeds of Treason*, and other books dealing with present day threats to our security. Regarded as one of the most brilliant of the younger crop of American writers, de Toledano has contributed to most of the best-known magazines in the United States.

Willard Edwards is one of the outstanding members of the Washington press corps. Number-two man in the effective *Chicago Tribune* Bureau in the Capital, Mr. Edwards has long been a student of the federal government. He is regarded as one of the outstanding authorities on congressional procedure and one of the best-known and widely read newspaper men on Capitol Hill.

His article "CLEAR IT WITH COPE," reminiscent of FDR's celebrated injunction on Harry Truman's candidacy, spotlights the enormous political influence wielded by the Committee on Political Education, electioneering arm of the CIO-AFL, in recent elections. In reporting on how the new members of the 86th Congress, with its overwhelming Democrat-socialist-labor majorities, are discovering the price they must

pay for labor's support, Mr. Edwards points out that 66 of the 98 members of the Senate and 237 representatives of the House can be depended upon to "CLEAR IT WITH COPE."

Born in Poland and educated at the Sorbonne and Ecole des Sciences Politiques, Zygmunt Litynski, before World War II, was the Paris correspondent of the largest Polish daily on the continent. During the war he was a foreign correspondent for the London *Daily Mirror* and since then as a free-lance writer he has contributed to most of England's leading newspapers and magazines. In the U. S. since 1945, and an American citizen, he has been a consultant to Radio Free Europe and devoting most of his time to writing on his preferred subjects—science and technology. At present he is compiling an authoritative study of the philosophy of science. His April article "WHY BUILD THE ATOM-POWERED BOMBER" exposes the latest Russian propaganda moves in the science field. Cautioning our defense budgeteers not to fall for this latest Communist propaganda gamble, Mr. Litynski advises that to divert money from our satellite and missile programs to achieve a propaganda success with an atom-powered bomber would be a far greater fiasco than the famous North American radar fence.

In the recent Supreme Court anti-monopoly ruling against the IBC, John V. Grombach emerged as a star witness with his testimony on how the once healthy boxing game has become a monopoly and how professional fight managers have become stooges. "WHAT'S WRONG WITH BOXING," on page 15, indicates what is still wrong with boxing. Mr. Grombach is a licensed professional engineer and a public relations consultant. During World War II he served as a colonel in charge of War Department General Staff Intelligence liaison to all U.S. civilian agencies and foreign governments. He continued as a consultant to the War Departments and State Department as an expert on Europe, and is now a Brigadier General in the Reserve. An all-round athlete at West Point (1919-1923), Grombach has been connected with amateur and professional boxing for the past 40 years. As an amateur and intercollegiate boxer he won 60 out of 66 fights and was a member of the 1924 World Champion Olympic Boxing Team.



WHY BUILD THE ATOM-POWERED BOMBER?

Should we manufacture realistic weapons or fabricate a propaganda success?

by Zygmunt Litynski

NOBODY wants to take the bread out of the mouths of Khrushchev's nuclear engineers. If they must make a living by putting together atom-powered bombers, let them do it. We, however, had better keep away from this sort of achievement.

This does not mean that the atom should be neglected. The future of aviation lies in atomic propulsion. The energy of 1,700,000 pounds of gasoline stored in a single pound of uranium is bound to replace present inefficient and bulky conventional fuels.

It does not mean, either, that an atom-powered plane cannot now be constructed. The Russians apparently have been flying one since last summer. They are not the only ones who have the know-how. General Electric has ground-tested

—for over two years—a nuclear aircraft propulsion system which is almost ready to be redesigned into a more compact unit for actual air-frame application. It is an air-cooled, metallic-fuel-element, water moderated reactor with an inbuilt modified J47 turbojet engine, as advanced in design as can be made.

The truth is that at the present stage of nuclear science and technology, a *good* atom-powered aircraft engine cannot be made by us or by anyone else, especially the busy Russians. This can be easily demonstrated without the help of differential calculus or quantum mechanics. The energy generated in any nuclear reactor comes in the form of heat produced by splitting atoms of some very heavy elements—uranium-238, uranium-235 or plutonium. When hit by a neutron,

those fissionable atoms have the tendency of breaking apart and simultaneously emitting more neutrons which break apart other fissionable atoms in the neighborhood, each of which again emits more atom-breaking neutrons, and so on.

If the reaction is allowed to go on uncontrolled, we have the atomic bomb. If the speed of the neutrons is adequately moderated and their number is restricted, we have the nuclear reactor. In both cases, however, the fission energy is essentially radiation, partly spent within the fuel in generating heat, but also freely escaping the system and creating a death-zone around it. A miniature 50 watt, atom-powered device, good only to light one household electric bulb, will release enough stray neutrons and gamma rays to kill a man.

SCIENCE today has no way of neutralizing radiation. All that can be done is to avoid radiation behind heavy walls made of radiation-absorbing materials. Although it still remains to be proved, a reactor shielded with seven to eight feet of concrete is considered safe enough biologically. Unfortunately, it is impractical to erect such a fortress within an airplane.

Deadly to man, the penetrating nuclear radiation is also damaging to materials. Under constant neutron bombardment metals are embrittled, ceramics change their

properties, even lubricants lose their viscosity. To reduce the danger of material breakdowns, land-bound and naval reactors are lavishly designed, with pressure vessels, tubing and control apparatus heavy enough to present a wide safety margin. Again, in an airplane this would not be possible.

Thanks to prodigality in the use of materials and to the exacting care in servicing, major disasters have been avoided during the few years the atomic power reactors have been operating. The reactors are not as "docile and well-behaved" as their constructors reported during the last Atoms for Peace conference in Geneva. Shortly after, workers were critically burned by radiation leaking from a modern reactor near Belgrade. At Oak Ridge, a heavy water reactor had to be shut down for months when a leak developed. Everybody will remember the breakdown of the No. One reactor at Windscale, England, when over 300 square miles of Cumberland's fields and pastures were contaminated. Though little publicized, there were about 20 similar instances in recent years. What would have happened had they occurred in mid-air?

A land-bound runaway reactor can usually be subdued with remotely operated cranes and manipulators, special jigs and tools, able to disassemble, repair and reassemble the "hot" parts. Without exposing themselves to radiation, the

workers and engineers control the machines and watch them functioning through periscopes from behind concrete walls. Can anything of that sort be featured in an airplane?

Those who urge stubbornly that we go ahead with the project, claim that an atom-powered bomber would cruise indefinitely off the territorial limits of the U.S., watching over our security from afar.

IT IS UNDOUBTEDLY true that, even at the present state of nuclear knowledge, an atom-powered airplane could carry enough fuel to cruise indefinitely or, in any case, until it fell apart. It also makes sense that it should cruise "off the territorial limits of the U. S.," for American pedestrians would feel decidedly insecure with the plane zooming overhead.

Experience with reactors proves that, at least from time to time, atomic-powered bombers will be bound to crash, the result of out of order reactors. Sir Miles Thomas, British nuclear scientist, has calculated that each such crash would endanger all life over an area of 100 square miles and make the same area unsuitable for growing crops and grazing for several decades.

Since nowhere in the world is there a government friendly enough to allow the forbidding plane over its territory, the unbelievably expensive atom-powered bomber would be limited to hover-

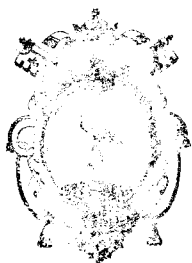
ing over mid-ocean. As its anti-radiation shields would take one-third of the plane's total weight (leaving only about one per cent for the payload), it could fly neither fast nor high—a sitting duck for the missiles of an enemy submarine.

We readily forget that atomic power is in its infancy. The first reactor was built only in 1942—not in Moscow but in Chicago—and today there are over the world no more than 15 full scale atomic plants which altogether produce less electric current than is needed to light one medium-sized city. Progress will come, but before atomic-powered aircraft start flying, our scientists must accomplish a major breakthrough not only in design of the atomic reactor but also in the basic principles upon which it functions.

Meanwhile, the security of the country has to be assured by weapons which work and which lend themselves to swift improvement—a fleet of multi-jet bombers whose speed and range we can double by adapting them to the costly but effective high-energy fuels; and, above everything else, by intercontinental missiles.

To divert money and effort from essential tasks in order to achieve a propaganda success with an atom-powered bomber would be a greater blunder than the construction of the famous North American radar fence which became obsolete before it was completed.

MY MEMORIES OF PIUS XII



Arms of Pope Pius XII

by T. J. Kiernan

Former Irish Minister to the Holy See

(Reprinted by special permission.
Catholic Digest, December, 1958)

I WAS IN ROME on Christmas eve, 1943. Curfew regulations in the Nazi-occupied city made it impossible for members of the diplomatic corps to attend the midnight Mass. Pope Pius XII, therefore, celebrated two of his Masses for us in the early evening. As we were leaving the little chapel of St. Matilda, the British minister to the Holy See, Sir D'Arcy Osborne, said to me, "This is an occasion when I wish I were a Catholic."

"Why?" I asked.

"So that I, too, might have received Communion from Pius XII," he said.

I have sometimes wondered how many persons of other faiths have

felt the impulse that prompted that remark. Surely no other Pontiff has surpassed Pius XII in the power to win the love of men of widely differing beliefs and backgrounds.

What was the secret of that power? I suppose that it would be just as easy to explain the "secret" of one of the masterworks of music that Pius himself loved so deeply. Like great music, his personality made every man feel that somehow his manhood had suddenly gained stature. Perhaps it was because every man was likely to find the quality he strove hardest to acquire in his own best moments realized and refined in Eugenio Pacelli.

His faith was so infectious that even people who did not share it were often deeply moved by it. And his cheerful courage was of the kind that nourishes whole nations. He once promised "We shall never tire of saying to all our children, 'Take courage; be of good heart.'" He kept that promise every time he appeared in public, every time he sat for a photograph. A glimpse of the serene countenance of the Holy Father meant an immediate bolstering of the spirits for many of his children.

I shall never forget the effect he had on the terrified populace the day of the first bombing of Rome, July 7, 1943. Bombs had fallen on the ancient Basilica of San Lorenzo and the great cemetery called the Campo Verano. An hour after the all clear, I went through the smok-

ing ruins with the prior of San Clemente, Father Dowdell. The work of digging out survivors was still going on.

A TREMOR of excitement ran suddenly through the crowd. There was a murmur, then a swelling shout "*Il Papal*" Faces were suddenly lit with hope. We were swung helplessly along as the excited mob surged first one way, then another. All at once, from the vantage point of a heap of fallen masonry, we saw him.

The small car in which he had left the Vatican had come to a stop with its front wheels on the edge of a bomb crater. He was sitting alone in the back seat, his hand raised in blessing, a figure so white, and at the moment so motionless, that I was reminded of one of Rome's marble statues. Then, as the people stretched out their hands toward him, he wound down the window, and his lips moved.

He had carried from the Vatican a bundle of lira notes for the Capuchins of San Lorenzo to use in helping bombed-out families. I saw him give some of the notes to an old woman who pressed forward and spoke beseechingly to him, and some to a man who had crawled out of his ruined house covered with the brown dust of the debris.

After he had departed, the people went on with their digging, but their despair and panic had evaporated. They drew more faith and

hope from the presence of Pius XII than from their antiaircraft artillery.

Rome had its second heavy air raid two weeks later. Again the Holy Father left the Vatican to visit the destroyed area within an hour after the last bomb fell. The working-class district of San Giovanni had been hit. Outside the Basilica of St. John Lateran he knelt to recite the *De Profundis*, his people kneeling in the rubble around him. He mixed with members of rescue squads. When he returned to the Vatican, his white cassock was stained with blood.

At such times, the people of Rome looked to him much as Irish villagers look to their pastor in time of crisis, as to one who is at once a devoted parent and a distinguished fellow townsman. I had heard that at the time of his ordination he described himself on the commemorative cards as "Eugenio Pacelli, a Roman." He was, after all, the first Roman in 200 years to be elected Pope.

These incidents reminded me of the real sacrifices that his long and brilliant service as a diplomat had entailed. I had visited several times a sixteenth-century church called the Chiesa Nuova (New Church) in the Corso Vittorio. Here, in the 1880's, the boy Eugenio Pacelli served Mass, coming early each morning from the third-floor flat in the nearby Via Orsini, where he had been born.

Here, after ordination, during the years when he was working industriously in various offices of the Vatican, he came to hear Confessions, teach catechism to children, and act as spiritual director of the Santa Rosa hostel for working girls. There is little doubt that despite his doctorates in philosophy, theology, and civil and canon law, his deepest yearning was for pastoral work among the people as a humble parish priest.

PARADOXICALLY, it took his elevation to the supreme office of the Church to fulfill his yearning. On March 2, 1939, the world became his parish. Thereafter, in hundreds of audiences, as men, women, and children from all nations and all walks of life left the warmth of his almost neighborly questions, the assistant of the Chiesa Nuova came back to his people.

"Before my audience I must have muttered, 'Thank you, your Holiness' to myself a thousand times," a chagrined tourist has reported, "and I still said, 'Thank you, Father.'"

I shall not be surprised if the picture of Pius XII that will remain most indelibly in my own memory is one that suggests the genial pastor: the picture of the Pope playing with my children in his private study, urging them to pick up his white telephone and speak into it. Their eyes had sought the instrument as soon as they came into the

room, because someone had told them that the Holy Father used a golden telephone.

I had heard, of course, that Pius XII had a "way with children," but had no idea till then what a beautiful way it was. It must be confessed that one heard Pius's personal accomplishments described so often in superlatives that it was easy to begin to think that some of the reports must be extravagant, the natural products of the love and reverence that he inspired among the faithful. Actually, one of the most remarkable things about him was the way in which he constantly outdid expectations.

One might have been tempted, for instance, to regard the descriptions of his musical interests as exaggerated; but he really did have an unusually good acquaintance with classical music. During the military occupation he ordered orchestral concerts to be performed at the Vatican. I saw him sitting totally absorbed at several concerts with the orchestral score in his hands. It was charming to see the radiant enthusiasm with which he congratulated the conductor, De Sabata, at the end of every concert.

Then there were the reports about his scientific knowledge. I know that some people assumed that at the roots of these reports might be found only the ordinary interests of a versatile, well-read man. Others seem to have attributed his reputation for scientific at-

tainments to his willingness to take advantage of modern inventions and gadgets. He would have been vastly amused if he had been told that some of his innovations, like the telephone machine at the Vatican offices or the electric device that rings the bells of St. Peter's, were taken as evidences that he was a "scientific-minded" Pope.

The fact was that he had a specialist's knowledge of several branches of science. His first love among the sciences was astronomy. It was significant that the one holiday abroad of his student days he spent at a congress of astronomers of Paris. More than half a century later he addressed the international meeting of astronomers held in Rome in September, 1952.

"The most interesting scientific paper I heard at that meeting was the address given by Pope Pius XII," said Dr. R. de V. Wooley, director of the Mount Stromlo observatory in Canberra.

A year before that, in November, 1951, scientists of world renown expressed admiration after the Holy Father had given a masterly review of modern research in order to show how the most recent discoveries bore witness to the existence of God.

So, too, with his reputation as a diplomat. You got the really enthusiastic appraisals of his skill in diplomacy from the ambassadors, the foreign ministers, the seasoned foreign correspondents. During the

period when Cardinal Pacelli was the papal nuncio in Germany, Dorothy Thompson wrote that "in knowledge of German and European affairs and in diplomatic astuteness the nuncio is without an equal."

Of course, entirely aside from the question of native gifts, few statesmen could equal his experience. He was an elder statesman, so to speak, before he became Sovereign Pontiff. It was a tribute to his youthful vitality that it was difficult to realize what a span of history his diplomatic labors had covered. It seemed almost unbelievable that in 1901 he was deputed by Pope Leo XIII to bring a message of condolence to the British royal family on the death of Queen Victoria. An American to whom I gave that information remarked, "That's as startling as if someone told me that President Eisenhower served under Teddy Roosevelt at San Juan hill."

CAREER DIPLOMATS loved him because he upheld the dignity of their calling in the face of those who cynically associate diplomacy with unction or guile. He was a symbol of a diplomacy that draws its strength from honesty, fortitude, and thorough study.

One particular incident of his boyhood seems to me to reveal the combination of qualities that later made him a matchless nuncio and secretary of state. An anticlerical teacher in the school he attended in

Rome had asked the boys to suggest names for an essay on the greatest heroes of history.

"Who," he demanded angrily, as he scanned the list, "has suggested St. Augustine?"

Young Pacelli stood up. "I did, sir," he said, "and I am prepared to give reasons for my choice." But the teacher did not take up the challenge. He had previously asked for essays justifying the seizure of the Papal States. Pacelli's essay had been, instead, a vigorous and learned denunciation of the seizure as a grave breach of justice.

Diplomats whose assignment to the Holy See fell during the war, as mine did, had an exceptional opportunity to gain an appreciation of Pius XII's statesmanship. The situation was extraordinarily complex. Being a neutral state, the Vatican continued diplomatic relations with all the belligerent nations throughout the war. The first Japanese ambassador (a Methodist, by the way) presented his credentials in May, 1942; the first minister for China, a pagan, in the following February.

In time of peace, none of the diplomats accredited to the Holy See resides within Vatican City. But during the war, representatives of the Allied countries, with their staffs and their families, were given quarters inside the Vatican. When Rome fell to Allied troops, they left to reside in their own buildings outside. In their stead, representatives of the Axis countries

took up residence in Vatican City.

During religious ceremonies all the diplomats—pagan, Protestant, Catholic—knelt together in the cramped space reserved for them in the Sistine chapel. All knelt, that is, except the German diplomats, who had been forbidden by Hitler to kneel. The Führer's first war ambassador, von Bergen, absented himself from ceremonies because he found it unbearable to stand all alone as the Pope passed or as the Host was elevated. But his successor, von Weizsäcker, and his staff stood stiffly in unfriendly isolation.

DIPLOMATS DESPAIRED of emulating Pope Pius in the way he poured himself into his work during the war. When I was received by him before taking a holiday in 1945, I spoke of it as a vacation (*vacanza*). "I prefer *ricreazione* to *vacanza*," he said. His point was that *vacation* suggests only an emptying out of worries and therefore has a passive and negative implication, but *recreation* suggests a positive rebuilding of energy through a change of activity. Since he denied himself any holiday from the beginning of the war to the end, the difference was for him largely an academic one.

During the most harrowing part of that period, he was preparing his great encyclical on the mystical Body of Christ. As I examine it now, the following passage strikes me with particular force: "Never,

perhaps, has the worthless and shadowy nature of earthly things been more clearly manifest than today, when kingdoms and nations are crumbling in ruins, great fortunes and riches of every kind are being plunged into the depths of the sea, when cities, villages, and fertile lands are being devastated, and defiled with the blood of fratricidal strife." It is moving for me to recall the background against which those words, so full of wisdom and high sorrow, were composed.

I remember the ordeal of Rome during the summer of 1943. I remember the terror of the bombing raids. I remember the wild, destructive anti-fascist carnival when the news of Mussolini's fall broke and everyone thought, incorrectly, that the war was over. I see once again the immense bonfire in St. Peter's square and the shadowy bulk of the great basilica lit by mounting flames.

I hear again that frigid announcement over the radio: "The war continues." Marshal Badoglio had taken command. The anticlimax was sobering. During Badoglio's 40-day regime, Rome was a city of rumors. You would hear that the Allies had landed at Ostia; the next moment the report would be denied. Meanwhile, the Germans advanced toward Rome.

I remember, too, that dreadful weekend in September, after Italy had signed an armistice at Palermo. German paratroopers dropped into

Rome. Leaderless bands of Italian troops fought the Nazis with machine guns and hand grenades. A stone's throw from the Irish legation a battle for possession of a barracks broke out. The Italians set up cannon as German troops charged in armored cars. I still hear the crashing of glass as the concussion shattered the windows of the legation, and the screaming of a woman who had been seized with the pangs of childbirth directly outside our gates.

Rome fell quickly to the Germans. A fortnight later the chief rabbi of the city, Zolli, was told by German authorities that the entire Jewish population of the city would be driven away if he did not hand over within 24 hours 100 pounds of gold and a million lire in cash. Unable to collect the gold, he appealed to the Holy Father. The gold was provided for him, partly by having gold ornaments melted down.

A PASSAGE in the encyclical on the mystical Body brings back all the ugliness of the Nazi persecution of the Jews: "Should it at any time happen that, contrary to the unvarying doctrine of this Apostolic See, a person is compelled against his will to embrace the Catholic faith, We cannot in conscience withhold our censure." Pius XII had heard, with pity and indignation, that some Jews had "become Catholics" to save themselves from concentration camps. Later, when the

danger had passed and there could be no possibility of any misinterpretation of his motives, Rabbi Zolli himself sincerely became a Catholic.

EUGENIO PACELLI, during the days when he was papal nuncio to Germany, was also a humble member of the Third Order of St. Francis. Later he joined the Third Order of St. Dominic under the

name of Brother Albert. He perpetually effaced himself.

On the day of his coronation as Sovereign Pontiff, an attendant held up the traditional smoking wad of flax fastened to the end of a staff. "Holy Father," the attendant chanted, "thus passes the glory of the world." No man of modern times required that reminder less than the humble Pope of peace, Pius XII.

The Business of Being A President

Though the old axiom reads that every American boy dreams of being President, the men in the White House were apt to see it otherwise.

Our very first Chief Executive, Washington, upon completion of his first term, quipped "I'd rather be in the grave than in the presidency again."

John Quincy Adams summed up his tenure as "the unhappiest four years of my life."

After leaving the Capital, Thomas Jefferson sighed, "Never did a prisoner, released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power."

James Buchanan told his successor Abraham Lincoln, "If you are as happy, dear sir, on entering this house as I am leaving it, you are the happiest man in the country."

And after Lincoln had been in the White House for a while, he had this to say about being President; "I feel like the man who was tarred and feathered and ridden out of town on a rail."

James Polk simply said, "I shall be a happier man in my retirement."

The path leading to the White House has also provoked some interesting sidelights into the nation's number one position.

James Monroe's inauguration was the first one to be held outdoors. Henry Clay was afraid the floor of the House wouldn't hold the crowd.

Zachary Taylor never voted in his life until he became President.

Franklin Pierce's campaign literature was written by his college chum, Nathaniel Hawthorne.

James A. Garfield was the only president who ever attempted to decline the presidency at a convention. He was stopped by a point of order.

Herbert Hoover's campaign was unusual in that he never mentioned his opponent's name in any of his campaign speeches.



WHAT'S WRONG WITH BOXING

by John V. Grombach

I HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED with boxing for over 40 years. I have been associated with the management of several world champions and several world championship contenders. I have been a fight manager of record and off the record, licensed and unlicensed. I do not have a criminal record and have never fraternized with racketeers, nor have I ever been threatened or intimidated by them. I was never a member of the Boxing Managers' Guild, have no ties with any pressure groups and have no axes to grind. While I have made some money out of boxing as a hobby, I have not made my living from it, but neither did Sam Harris, William A. Brady or Charles Cochran, three of the greatest managers of modern times who managed Terrible Terry McGovern, James J. Corbett, James J. Jeffries and Joe Walcott.

Amateur and professional boxing does not need me to defend it against amateur and frustrated detractors. Boxing in the U.S. should enjoy in both its professional and amateur forms a success greater or

equal to that enjoyed by any other sport.

The New York State Athletic Commission who, allegedly, is set up to "make" professional boxing honest and "protect" boxers from unfair exploitations, does not like my ilk. Commissioners believe boxing managers should work at it exclusively and have no other interest although the commissioners are all on part time.

Naturally, control or suspension of the manager's license is not a desperate issue to a part-time manager. Similarly, IBC, International Boxing Club, and Mr. Norris, who could possibly have saved boxing, avoid and ignore my kind politely. They damn me with faint praise, but I am getting ahead of my story. Because I wrote a book *The Saga of Sock* on the 9,000-year-old story of boxing, I have been approached by several magazines on the present day problems of boxing. Conversations with the editors usually end their interests. They want K.O. punches against the sport and the smell of racketeers, gamblers and scandal—not smelling salts or help-

ful suggestions for recovery. The editor of this magazine is the first who has agreed to let me write the true story of what is wrong with boxing.

The cauliflower industry in the United States is suffering from a severe blight. New York, once the thriving center of fistiana, is now its ghost town. Purses and profits have dwindled to mere pennies. Gross receipts from boxing in the United States for 1946 totaled over \$14,000,000, and in 1947, again over \$14,000,000, while 1956 and 1957 receipts were only \$4,448,000 and \$5,185,000. Going further back, in 1927, one fight alone rang up \$2,658,660, (the second Tunney-Dempsey match), and five top fights \$4,408,021. Betting clearly shows the weakened condition of professional boxing. Betting on boxing through bookies in 1958 is estimated to have been below \$20,000,000 against well over \$5,000,000,000 on baseball and over \$18,000,000,000 on horse racing. Legal betting on horse racing in 1958 was \$2,310,000,000. In other words, for every dollar bet on horses, less than one-fifth of a penny was bet on fights. These betting figures are important only because wagers depend on competition and competition in boxing spells entertainment, popularity, gate receipts and good business.

Madison Square Garden, mecca of the boxing world, may be used as a barometer. From 1926 until

1930 the gross boxing receipts were well over \$1,500,000 for every one of those years. The gross receipts in 1958 totaled less than \$251,000. When you consider economic conditions from 1926 to 1930 and the value of the dollar during this period, as against economic conditions in 1958 and the present value of the dollar, the comparison is like comparing a dollar yesterday to a dime today. New York State Boxing taxes were well over \$200,000 for 1938 as against \$76,433.81 for 1954, and this last figure included taxes not only from paid admissions, but also from television, radio and movies. In 1958, the figure will probably be less than \$65,000.

BOXING at the Madison Square Garden once drew up to \$201,485 per night, The Delany-Maloney fight in 1927 drew the latter figure. In 1956, even a World's Heavyweight Championship fight (Floyd Patterson-Tommy Jackson) grossed only \$66,038 and the average fight at the Garden that year didn't even draw \$5,000. On December 12, 1956, the Garden drew 1,210 persons who paid only some \$2,000 in order, no doubt, to satisfy the Garden's annual TV contract with Gillette. (Neither the commission or the Garden will release more recent figures.)

The comparative figures on outdoor fights at baseball parks follow a similar pattern. The smaller clubs that once were scattered around the

country and helped develop boxers and competition and formed an important part of the boxing industry have long since been starved out. As a result, promoters and managers for the first time have had to look for new, colorful and able young fighters outside of the United States.

While many people do not consider pugilism as an industry or as entertainment, nevertheless the hard facts are that boxing has the capacity of staging, in one week, fights in 112 major cities in the United States for 1,103,700 spectators, costing \$1,800,000, grossing \$3,437,000, for a weekly net profit of \$1,637,000. These fights could be broadcast over literally thousands of radio stations and hundreds of television stations. Boxing as private enterprise could well reach a gross of \$100,000,000 per year.

At the present time, boxing is at the lowest level in its U.S. history. What has caused this extraordinary change? What is wrong with boxing?

MANY WRITERS and newspapermen and politicians identified with boxing only by appointment to state boxing or athletic commissions have written articles allegedly indicating what is wrong. The politicians have always dramatized their articles by the rather sensational procedure of obtaining the criminal record pictures of a few managers and promoters who

served terms in prison or who have police records.

Thus the blame is placed on gambling, gamblers, promoters or managers with criminal records, and an alleged control of boxing by the so-called "Underworld." A few sports writers have sometimes blamed television or poor matchmaking while many managers have often blamed monopoly in boxing based on the octopus grip on the industry by IBC and James Norris, now retired.

In a similar manner and with more logic, I intend to name the persons whom I believe to be responsible for the current state of boxing. The latter have more bearing on the poor condition of boxing than the prison numbers or police records of the few dubious characters in the sport.

Gambling and gamblers and the interests of persons with police records in boxers is no more a business issue in the professional boxing industry than the interests of gamblers and persons with police records in show girls and therefore in show business, in horses and therefore in horse racing, or in cars and labor unions and therefore in the automotive industry. In addition, gamblers are not restricted to the underworld. It would appear from the gross sales on Wall Street in the last six months that many legitimate businessmen, professional men, politicians and other persons who have no contact with the "Un-

derworld" nevertheless regularly engage in speculation.

In the earliest golden era of boxing in Greece, starting in the sixth century B.C. from Xenophanes to Pericles, original sources tell us of heavy betting on fights or contests, and we have evidence that there was a gambling fix in a heavy-weight boxing match involving Apollonius of Alexandria, in one of the earliest Olympic Games over 2,000 years ago. In more modern times, from 1723 to 1789 in England, a character named Tom Johnson, alias Tom Jackling, with not too savory a reputation or background became a great heavy-weight fighter and kept betting and parlaying his bets on himself until he had won an amount today equivalent in purchasing power to possibly \$5,000,000. None of these things or many more unsavory characters in the sport ever injured boxing for long or brought it down to its current low.

IN 1805, JOHN GULLY literally got himself out of debtors prison with his fists, with the help of some disreputable characters. He then went on to win the World's Heavy-weight Championship, millions of dollars in English pounds, mines, taverns, horses, two Derby winners, and, in 1832, a seat in the British Parliament. Gully gained an honored and respected position in society. In 1926, Gene Tunney emulated John Gully, and initially was

also associated with some questionable characters. Yet, neither Gully nor Tunney were ever accused of any dishonesty or improper action.

There are crooks and shady characters in all industries and human endeavors, yet no specific industry is headed toward bankruptcy and oblivion with the speed of present day boxing.

Even the monopoly of IBC, which, no doubt, is a major contributory cause to the disease of pugilism today, or television as handled by IBC can by themselves or jointly be exclusively blamed. Monopoly of one type or another has existed in boxing, not only without prolonged harmful results, but in some cases with outstandingly excellent results.

The modern golden age of boxing in the U.S. in the roaring twenties, with one and two million dollar gates, was, after all, the result of an enlightened despot of boxing who had a tight grip on the industry. I am referring to Tex Rickard. However, Rickard once told me that if he actually controlled boxers and their managers, he would "kill the goose that laid the golden egg."

As for television and closed circuit theatre TV, which Rickard would have put on a true competitive basis, they can add, not detract from effective fight promotion. As far as commercial TV is concerned, the mere "blackout" of the area in which the fight is held prevents prospective spectators from staying

home, and the sponsors' fees add to the promoter's take and the fighters' purse, providing there was free competition and open bargaining on the radio and TV broadcasts based on the appeal of the fight and its contestants. Professional football in the last three Giant game sellouts at Yankee Stadium has shown how to handle TV.

NATURALLY, those of us who have a love of boxing do not have to look far, for most of us have known for a long time of the ever-increasing problem that is bringing boxing down and down.

In 1923, Tex Rickard, who promoted 120 fights in 18 years, totaling ten million dollars in receipts, guaranteed me lots of money and a crack at Jack Dempsey for the World's Championship if I resigned my commission in the Regular Army and turned pro. I refused, thereby assuming the permanency of my profile and the continuance of my good health. In 1934 and 1935, I participated with Ancil Hoffman, who was already wealthy from boxing, in making a fortune for Max Baer in radio and motion pictures as well as from gate receipts. These subsidiary rights could then be sold to the highest bidder on a competitive basis. I sold broadcast contracts to Goodrich, General Motors and Gillette, all involving advertising budgets of millions of dollars and initiating Gillette's Cavalcade of Sports.

In 1950, I could not sell the radio, TV and motion picture rights to the LaMotta-Dauthuille World's Middleweight Championship fight in Detroit for five times what the promoter obtained for these. I could not even sell for lots of money the European motion picture rights alone to the fight even though IBC had indicated that I could probably arrange this with their promoter in Detroit if I signed a State Commission form contract.

Although I was the manager of record of the French challenger and had to put up bond that he would fight for IBC exclusively if he became champion, I could not negotiate a subsidiary rights deal which would have meant more money for all concerned except the State Athletic Commission. The fight had to be broadcast and controlled as part of a block sale which appeared to me to violate the laws of the U.S. and this I reported to the Department of Justice.

Because of the improper handling of TV and its consequent injury to gate receipts, I once had one of my boxers draw a \$21,000 gate in New York City for a hard close fight.

I arranged a fight for the same fighter in Montreal, a town one-ninth the size of New York but where promoters and managers have some control over boxing. The gate receipts were \$76,000 for a short easy fight. Naturally, the tight control in New York State is be-

cause the politicians say that boxing is such an unsavory sport it must be run on a police basis.

HOWEVER, during 40 years in boxing, in business, and in the military service of the United States, I can honestly say that I have met no more crooks, shady characters, disloyalty, dishonesty, double dealing or fraud in boxing than I have in business, in the Army or in wartime Washington.

The trouble with boxing today is that it is no longer a sport or an industry or a business in which the usual principles of initiative, hard work, risk capital, honesty and normal business competition or athletic prowess are the determining factors for success.

Boxing for some time has been increasingly controlled by politics and politicians until it is the one industry in our United States which has succumbed to an almost complete take over by the welfare state or more properly speaking, by welfare states.

The various states and the state political machines have seized upon boxing as perfect territory for the spoils system under the usual guise of preventing exploitation, dishonesty, excesses and corruption. The dreamers and reformers believe that boxing should be cleansed, controlled and run by police methods and bureaucratic management with rules, regulations and laws which dictate what equipment a

boxer should wear and prescribe a printed contract form to the last colon and period to govern both the human and business relations between a fighter and his manager or a manager and a promoter.

Naturally, under political bureaucracy-control and management, boxing fell into the hands not of experts, but of rank tyros who made mistake after mistake, and from ignorance and fear, tightened rather than relaxed the controls from year to year and from administration to administration. More controls always meant more jobs and more jobs meant more political value and more votes, and this last meant more interest in boxing by the political machines, politicians and administrations.

In 1921, the New York State Athletic Commission employed six persons and the Commissioners received no pay. Today, there are 226 persons on the politically appointed New York State payroll in absolute control of boxing, many drawing from \$7,000 to \$10,000 per year salaries.

The present Chairman, former Republican candidate for Borough President of Manhattan, recently appointed by Governor Rockefeller, will receive \$16,900 per year plus travel allowances for his part-time services. However, there are far fewer persons in New York State licensed by the New York State Athletic Commission as boxers (614), managers (199), sec-

onds (469), referees, judges, promoters, than there were ten or 15 years ago. The difference spells the number who became discouraged at the welfare state control. Now even trainers, ticket takers, doormen, and ushers must be licensed, charged and finger printed by the state.

Let us see some classic examples of the type of experts or administrators who, selected by political preference, managed and controlled with almost unlimited power the sport or industry in the State that was once the world center of boxing.

The late General John Phelan was an honest gentleman who never saw a boxing glove before he became Commissioner.

Radio broadcasting people once reported to General Phelan that the elapsed time of a round in an important heavyweight fight directly connected with a knockout could be proven incorrect. The radio people explained that the bell at the beginning and the bell at the end of the round in question was clearly recorded along with the fight broadcast and that the incorrect time could be proven and verified by a stroboscope which would prove the speed of the recording and reproducing turntables to be true. The General's reaction was, "You're crazy—the timing of any New York State boxing contest is legally correct—it's got to be—and keep your proboscope, or whatever

you call your recording nose, out of this!"

AS ATHLETIC OFFICER of the 69th Regiment of the New York National Guard, as a businessman and as a former boxer, coach, referee and judge in the U.S. Army and in several states, I once asked New York National Guard General Phelan to use me as a referee or judge of the New York State Athletic Commission. I had refereed thousands of bouts in the Army and had been licensed in other states. This same type of request was made by me years later to Eddie Eagan, another Chairman of the Athletic Commission of New York State—this time a Republican appointee who did know something about boxing and had been one of my Olympic boxing teammates. Both answered in the same vein—that in order to be a boxing official in the State of New York, I had to be recommended and licensed through political channels, starting with my district or ward boss.

Eagan, incidentally, stumbled as Commissioner because he bowed to political influence and was afraid to assert himself as is sometimes the case with men of great physical courage. He was well-meaning, a fine sportsman but perhaps a little too desirous to be everyone's friend. He knows boxing even though his agreement to the \$64,000 winning and allegedly correct answer by Mrs.

(Dr.) Joyce Brotherson the TV quiz, "The \$64,000 Question," was wrong. David Mendoza, notwithstanding Revlon, was not the greatest scientific boxer of his day. Mendoza was annihilated in 11 minutes by his more scientific contemporary, Gentleman Jack Jackson who came back from a six year retirement to out-think as well as out-fight Mendoza. Jackson was a college-educated boxer and friend of royalty who turned professional not for money, but to apply his scientific theories on the art of self defense and for thrills. Except for one fight in which he slipped and broke his ankle, he was undefeated.

AS GOVERNORS AND POLITICIANS in various states grew more and more annoyed and concerned with the smell of the rapid deterioration of boxing, and the lack of persons with boxing experience or knowledge who were due political payoffs or favors, the cry has been more and more for tough guys and crime busters and super-administrators to further cover up the welfare state's hopeless inadequacy and the failure of socialized boxing.

For instance, for pure lunacy, let's examine a few New York State rules. A doctor must be licensed before he treats a patient, and after qualifying, he can treat any number of patients, but in the absence of any patient, he is still a doctor.

Not so with a boxing manager, who does not have to qualify on

knowledge, education or experience. He cannot be a manager in New York State unless he has a licensed boxer signed to a management contract of the State. When he ceases to have a licensed boxer, he no longer can qualify to be a manager and loses his license. Oh yes, his boxer and he must sign a contract not prepared by them, but by the Commission of the state, and when the manager in turn signs for a fight it must be with a licensed promoter and must be a contract prepared and even printed by the State. Naturally, motion pictures, radio and TV rights are neatly arranged for him whether he has a colorful fighter who can sing, dance and act or if he has a deaf mute who can't even fight.

More recently in the fading Republican administration of Governor Dewey, Robert Christenberry, another honest and well-meaning man, was appointed Chairman of the New York State Athletic Commission. Let us carefully study his qualifications, competency, actions, contributions and accomplishments, first as a boxing expert since the Governor appointed him to control as well as run the industry for profit—at least for the State of New York—second as an experienced administrator and businessman capable of running a ten or 20 million dollar industry.

With respect to the first point as admitted in newspaper interviews, Robert Christenberry probably had

less contact or knowledge of boxing than the average TV boxing fan. To prove our point and also get into the administrative side, we will quote him: "I'm frank to admit that when Tom Dewey appointed me, I didn't know the first thing about boxing—but it's a business, and I figured it could be run—like the hotel business. You assign responsibility to commissioners, deputy commissioners, members of the medical advisory board, promoters, referees, managers, and to some extent the fighters themselves."

ANOTHER INTERESTING published statement of Christenberry in the *New Yorker* magazine does not stand analysis: "Like the hotel business," he said "it's a 24 hour a day job." Yet Mr. Christenberry continued for years both as Manager of the Astor Hotel and as Chairman of the New York State Athletic Commission, drawing down salaries from both and apparently working 48 hours per day. Mr. Christenberry went from the Astor to the Ambassador to his political demise as Republican candidate for Mayor of New York City. As far as is known, he never voiced any great interest in boxing before he became Commissioner or since.

Nat Fleischer, "Mr. Boxing," the greatest living boxing expert and writer who has refereed important fights all over the world, but has never been asked to serve on any state boxing control body in

any capacity probably because he knows too much for any bureaucracy, conservatively summed up Mr. Dewey's selection of Christenberry, stating, "I'm astounded—how can the Governor expect either to clean up or help boxing with a person who knows nothing about it?"

One of Christenberry's official or unofficial acts as Commissioner was to write a feature article for *LIFE* magazine, "My Rugged Education in Boxing." It was published and advertised as written by "The Chairman, New York State Athletic Commissioner." With the help of State Police agencies, he obtained and published in this article the police pictures of Frank Carbo, Harry Segal, Eddie Coco, Felix Bochichio and others. According to this article, Christenberry would have you believe that "the criminals in boxing have moved in from the fringe to crowd the game's decent people into an ever smaller corner."

This, according to my own experience at the time, was grossly exaggerated. I once had a fighter in whom Carbo was interested—not as far as I know for any dishonest purpose, but irrespective of the intent, I learned of Carbo's interest and sent him word that I was not interested in selling my interest or any part of it. There were no threats, nor was I ever bothered nor was the fighter involved bothered or contacted, nor did we have to pay any tribute.

I was, however, bothered and

handicapped by the fact that I had to get licenses for the boxer, myself and his second every time he moved or had a fight in a different state, and that each state collected its tribute or fee for the licenses and permits, and also grabbed a nice cut from the gate receipts, and therefore from the purse of the fighter.

I also found it necessary to do some public relations work lobbying or making promises to politicians or characters who knew the right people in the office of the State Athletic Commission so that I could get the licenses, permits and papers with minimum effort and cost. The money, of course, went for the support of the state's ineffective management of boxing in each state and indirectly to the maintenance of the political party in power. In addition, the New York State Boxing Commission assisted the collection from the boxer's purse for a boxing union even though in some cases neither the boxer nor manager involved were members of the union or guild.

IN RETURN, what did the boxers or managers get—protection from whom or from what? On the contrary, the state's control reduced compensation, reduced gate receipts, reduced initiative, and was liquidating boxing's greatest assets—showmanship, imagination and free competition.

But to get back to Mr. Christenberry with respect to pure stupid-

ity, probably the high or the low in his administration occurred when he was in attendance at the Billy Graham-Joeey Giardello ten-round fight at Madison Square Garden. The officials—all experts appointed by the New York State Athletic Commission and approved by Mr. Christenberry—awarded the fight to Giardello by a two-to-one margin. Mr. Christenberry, who admitted he knew nothing about boxing, had never boxed, coached, refereed or judged boxing in his life, did not agree with the decision. He therefore changed the score card of one of the judges, making Graham the winner 24 hours later. Several weeks later, Mr. Christenberry's brilliant reversal was in turn reversed by the New York State Supreme Court, who very wisely found that boxing or athletic commissioners are "not appointed on the basis of their expertness in judging prize fights." The late Bill Corum, in his column, commented: "What sort of nonsense is this that we have come up with in boxing—It happens that I have through the years seen the officials involved handle hundreds of fights when I was only seeing Mr. Christenberry at the Astor Hotel."

The next incumbent as Chairman of the New York State Athletic Commission and who succeeded Christenberry was Julius Helfand, an honest and well-known Assistant District Attorney and crime buster appointed by Demo-

cratic Governor Harriman. He may not have been as naive as Eddie Eagan but he was ignorant of boxing as were Phelan and Christenberry. He may have driven out the comparatively small criminal element and any dishonesty in boxing, but with his actual lack of knowledge of the beak busting business and with a police and crime buster approach drove the industry and sport of boxing further down the road to bankruptcy and oblivion, with some help from IBC and its commercial monopoly.

On January 6, Governor Rockefeller, after his inauguration, announced the appointment of a new Chairman of the Commission. According to the release to the press, Brig. General Melvin L. Krulwich of the Marine Corps Reserve is qualified for the job as a man who fought in three wars, holds 22 medals and citations, and as a lawyer was assistant counsel, special counsel and hearing examiner of the N. Y. Public Service Commission and trial examiner of the State Labor Relations Board. In fact, the only thing that could be dug up on General Krulwich's connection with sports was that he was on the U.S. Committee for Sports in Israel. It will be interesting to note if Mr. Helfand, now relegated to the rank of ordinary commissioner, will still be sufficiently interested in boxing to remain on the commission when he

will only draw \$63 per attendance of the commission's meetings (let us say, once per week) or if Mr. Helfand's major interest in boxing was the \$16,900 per year political payment for services rendered. Mr. Christenberry resigned as soon as he was displaced as Chairman by the political tides.

WHAT BOXING needs is freedom, competition, a few promoters like James W. Coffroth, Hugh D. McIntosh and Tex Rickard; a few managers like Al Hereford (who died a millionaire), Billy Gibson, Leo P. Flynn, Nate Lewis, Jack Curley and Tom Jones, a few fighters like Jack Johnson, Stanley Ketchel, Harry Greb, Joe Walcott, Joe Gans, Young Griffo, George Dixon, Terry McGovern and Jack Dempsey.

Were they active today, however, they might not survive the tight political controls, the heavy tributes and interference in their business operations and promotions by the likes of General Phelan, Mr. Christenberry or Mr. Helfand, the monopoly of IBC in promotion or Gillette in broadcasting. If the showmen of yesteryear were alive and free today, they would operate from Panama or Mexico and televise their fights to the U.S. to the highest bidder in the U.S. In some towns to theatres on closed circuit TV and in other smaller towns on commercial television to advertise the sponsor's product.

THERE WAS a day when World Championships could only be lost or won in the ring. However, even that is now no longer true. A boxing Commissioner or Commission or group of them can officially cancel out a champion or make Willynilly a world champion.

Perhaps in the end, this may inspire some competition and imagination to the badly beaten boxers and their managers as two, three or four world's champions engage in a battle royal for fistic if not political recognition.

Although capable as a lawyer, Mr. Helfand was evidently too busy trying to find underworld characters in boxing to strictly apply the actual laws ostensibly set up to prevent monopoly, a major enemy of the sport. Article 9113, Title 25 of the New York State Laws regulating boxing states: "No corporation shall have, either directly or indirectly, any financial interest in a boxer or wrestler competing on premises owned or leased by the corporation, or in which such corporation is otherwise interested."

Notwithstanding this, IBC in all its World Championship Boxing contests requires the contender or his manager to sign an agreement whereby if the challenger wins the title he must defend it exclusively under IBC promotion. If this is not a financial interest in the boxer then as a former boxing manager, I'll

gladly eat a set of boxing gloves.

There are many people today who believe, along with a few wealthy persons in politics whose conscience may hurt them because of their great but inherited wealth, that denatured socialism or the welfare state will give us all peace and security.

Many politicians believe that the principles of Karl Marx differently applied will do away with want and poverty and bring them (the politicians) more, although "benevolent" power.

As a businessman and professional boxing manager with little knowledge of politics and ideologies, I can state that the idea of the welfare state and the socialistic take over of boxing by politicians has only resulted in chaos, confusion, lack of incentive, loss of initiative and imagination, bankruptcy and considerably more misery than ever before.

The trouble with boxing is that it is no longer truly an industry or sport in the free enterprise system.

To further prove my point, the so-called "State Athletic Commissions" do not "protect" or control professional baseball, football or horse racing. These are still fortunately in the free enterprise system, manage themselves and, notwithstanding TV and alleged monopoly, are healthy, make money and are popular with the fans.



PATRIOTIC YOUNG AMERICANS

by Carol Finger

THE ANNUAL national convention of The National Society, Children of the American Revolution, will be held this year at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., April 24-25-26. The event comes at the end of the week of April 19, anniversary of the Battle of Lexington. Over 1,000 delegates and members from 750 Societies of 18,000 members under 22 years of age will be present to transact business, tour Washington, see Mount Vernon and other historic shrines and to attend church service in Washington Cathedral. There will be social events, too.

The average American should know more about this organization, its origin and purposes, as it is one of the strong patriotic associations of the United States.

Its founder was Mrs. Daniel S. Lothrop of Concord, Massachusetts, writer of children's stories under her pen name, Margaret Sidney. Her *Five Little Peppers and How They Grew* has been loved by generations of young people and still is well-known. She said, in a speech before the Fourth Continental Congress of the Daughters of the Revolution, February 22, 1895: "The

children and youth of America have a right to demand the opportunity to secure all rights and privileges that help forward a perception and adoption of those American principles and institutions for which their ancestors fought and died . . . I appeal for the children and youth of America and I add to my appeal this resolution: RESOLVED, that the Society of the Children of the American Revolution shall be organized and adopted by the Daughters of the American Revolution." This resolution was unanimously carried.

The National Society, Children of the Revolution, was incorporated under the Laws of the district of Columbia, April 11, 1895. The first local society, the Old North Bridge Society of Concord, Massachusetts, was formed, and the first member was Margaret Lothrop, daughter of the founder.

There are societies in the United States, Canal Zone, Mexico and Hawaii. In Paris a Society is being sponsored by the Society in France, Sons of the American Revolution, composed largely of descendants of Lafayette. His descendants were granted citizenship in 1780 by a

grateful United States Congress.

Members of NSCAR must be lineally descended from a man or woman who, with unfailing loyalty, rendered material aid to the cause of American Independence as a soldier, sailor, civil officer, or recognized patriot in one of the several Colonies or States, and must be personally acceptable to the Society.

Senior officers are leaders and advisers but the young members conduct their own meetings, business, reports, programs and social affairs on a local, state, regional and national scale. Every meeting is opened by prayer, the singing of the National Anthem and the reciting of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag of the United States, the American Creed and the CAR creed. Patriotic education has long been the major interest of the organization. Leadership is acquired naturally and gradually, so that members are prepared to take their places as future leaders of their communities.

THE GROUP's publication, the *Children of the Revolution Magazine* is published five times a year and features articles by members and reports of Society activities. This year's national project is buying kitchen and scientific equipment for St. Mary's School for Indian Girls, Springfield, South Dakota.

The following excerpt is from a prize-winning article published in

the magazine. It was written by Robert Edward Ostermeyer, aged 12, of San Diego Society:

My parents gave me a heritage more precious than gems or gold when they gave me the opportunity of being born in America. It is a heritage that I have been able to enjoy from the moment I was born. I do not have to wait to have the privileges of the freedoms of religion, education, and press. My country and its conduct in the past and present make me proud. I am proud of the statesmen who drafted the first blueprints for governing these United States. The pioneers who carved a progressive America from a wilderness fill my mind with awe and respect. I am proud of the soldiers, citizens, and statesmen who have followed these blueprints to keep freedom, peace and equality alive. . . . We are subjected to criticism both from without and within, but when I study my history texts, I find that we have tried to live right, speak the truth, and right the wrong. No nation could give *better* value to its citizens or mankind . . . I believe in myself and my friends. I believe that America will continue to sing her song of freedom until all the world will listen. . . .

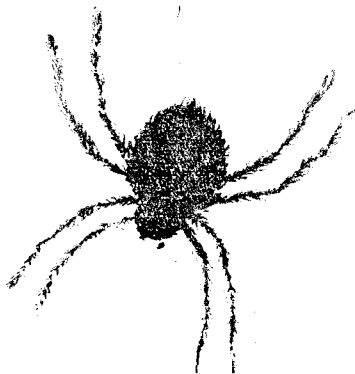
Youths who think like this are not likely to become adults who are satisfied to be dependents of a Welfare State. They are being imbued, during formative years, with the ideals, courage, independence and faith that moved the founders of the United States of America.

THE EDACIOUS SPIDER

by John L. Leslie

A CURIOUS, young English couple decided to test the appetite of a common spider.

Arising at daybreak, they dropped a fly into his web. At first, however, the spider did not appear from his retreat. A closer inspection showed that an earwig had already been caught and was being feasted upon. The spider left the earwig, rolled up the fly, and returned to his "first course." That, was at 5:30 A.M. on a September morning.



By 7:00 A.M. the earwig had been demolished and the spider then took a nap until an hour later, when he came out to finish off the fly. At 9:00 A.M. he was supplied with a daddy longlegs, which he finished by noon. At 1:00 P.M. he greedily seized a large blow fly which, with still a ravenous appetite, he devoured. Then, during the day and towards evening, a great many small green fly-midges, over 125 by count, had been caught and rolled up in the web.

Shortly after dark, the young couple, provided with a lantern, went down to see if Mr. Spider were probably suffering from indigestion. However, he was quite busy, rolling up the balance of the midges, flies and hauling them into his retreat for an immediate snack. But, as he rolled up the small detachments of flies and web sections, the web, also was eaten.

He rested for about an hour, then commenced to spin another new web. It was finished, ready for fresh customers, by daybreak.

Now, taking the relative size of the spider and the creatures it ate, and comparing this to man, it would add up as follows: at daybreak, a lamb; at 9:00 A.M. a young camelopard; at 1:00 P.M. a whole sheep; and, during the night, 120 larks.

This, I think, would put any human gourmet to shame. All that, in 24 hours, then starting in to spin five miles of web—minus the help of machinery!

It was ratified by ten states under duress

THE DUBIOUS ORIGIN OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

by Walter J. Suthon, Jr.

THE AMENDMENT under which the Supreme Court ordered integration is itself clearly unconstitutional, if the "law of the land" concerning constitutional amendment procedure is respected and enforced.

In most of the litigation which has come before the Supreme Court in recent years involving contentions for restriction of State regulatory power and enlargement of Federal regulatory power, the Fourteenth Amendment has been cited in justification. This has been particularly true in cases involving proposed racial integration and the breaking down of the established systems of racial segregation in the South.

The catch in all these contentions is that the Fourteenth Amendment itself is a provision of the most dubious legality. It was ratified in 1868 under flagrant conditions of coercion in several of the southern states which were recorded as ratifiers. These states were under involuntary rule by virtual "puppet governments" at a time when military government was clamped upon the South under the vengeful Reconstruction Act. Without the ratification of the Fourteenth Amend-

ment by seven southern states which were under the coercive control of the Reconstruction Act, the Amendment could not have secured the three-fourths majority necessary for its passage.

Even the most cursory review of the intent of the founding fathers who wrote our Constitution reveals that they never contemplated constitution amendment by duress. The record of the Constitutional Convention shows that they specifically placed safeguards in the Constitution to prevent any such event. The fact that the 39th Congress disregarded these safeguards in 1866, when it submitted the Fourteenth Amendment to the States, places serious doubt upon the validity of the Amendment.

The procedure by which the Constitution can be amended was clearly defined in Article V. This Article states:

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution . . . which . . . shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States. . . .

While the authority to propose an amendment is given to the Congress, it was the intent of the Convention that the primary role in the amendment process should be given to the States. This is shown by the fact that it is provided that, even when an amendment proposal is defeated by Congress, the legislatures of two thirds of the States can demand a convention which has the power to submit the amendment to the States. Thus, even the submission function is not given exclusively to the Congress. Once the proposed amendment is submitted, the only function of the Congress is that of determining whether the States, in voting on ratification, shall act through their respective legislatures, or through conventions. The record of the evolution of Article V, in the proceedings of the Federal Convention of 1787, fully supports the view that Congress has no function at all to perform after submission, i.e. during consideration of ratification by the States, and action thereon by the States.

THE INVALIDITY of the Fourteenth Amendment is clear when we consider (1) the illegal make-up of the 39th Congress which submitted the amendment to the States and (2) the illegality of the seven Southern States governments which ratified the amendment.

The 39th Congress was a "rump" Congress. Under the Constitutional

provision that "Each House shall be the judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members . . .", each House had excluded all persons appearing with credentials as Senators or Representatives from the ten Southern States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas. This exclusion, through the exercise of an unreviewable constitutional prerogative, constituted a gross violation of the essence of two other constitutional provisions (Article V and Article 1-2) both intended to protect the rights of the States to representation in Congress. Had these ten States not been deprived of their constitutional rights of representation in Congress, it would have been impossible for the Fourteenth Amendment to secure a two-thirds vote in the Congress, permitting submission to the States.♦

Secondly, in order to secure ratification in the Southern States, puppet governments were set up through the cooperation of the occupying military authorities. When the Fourteenth Amendment was submitted, the ten southern states had existing governments and legislatures. These governments had been recognized by the Federal Government when the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery, had been adopted the previous year.

When the proposed Fourteenth Amendment was submitted to the

legislatures, it needed ratification by 28 states, three-fourths of the then 37 states. While the amendment was ratified promptly by most states outside the South, it was never ratified by California and it was rejected by the three border states of Maryland, Delaware and Kentucky. It was also rejected (1866-67) by the legislatures of the ten southern states, including Louisiana, whose Senators and Representatives had been excluded from seats in Congress. This created a situation in which the ratification of the Amendment was impossible unless some of these rejections were reversed.

How did the Amendment supporters meet this situation? On March 2, 1867, they enacted the Reconstruction Act. This Act provided for a system of voter registration before boards set up under military auspices. It declared that "no legal State government" existed in these states. All civilian authorities were made subordinate to the military government. The most extreme and amazing feature of the Act was the requirement that each excluded state must ratify the Fourteenth Amendment in order again to enjoy the status and rights of a state.

Senator Doolittle of Wisconsin declared in a speech in the Senate:

My friend has said what has been said all around me, what is said every day: the people of the South

have rejected the constitutional amendment, and therefore we will march upon them and force them to adopt it at the point of a bayonet, and establish military power over them until they do adopt it.

So drastic was the Reconstruction Act that President Johnson vetoed it, declaring in his message that it was unconstitutional. Nevertheless, political passion ran so high that the veto was overridden by two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress.

AS A RESULT, enforcement of the Reconstruction Act in the South went forward unhampered. Puppet governments were set up in the various states under military auspices. Under this rule of bayonets, new constitutions were drafted and adopted in the states. One by one, these puppet state governments ratified the Fourteenth Amendment until seven coerced and illegal ratifications gave the measure the two-thirds needed vote. The Amendment was finally adopted in July 1868.

The most flagrant violation of the Constitution, in the orgy of usurpation which produced the Fourteenth Amendment, was the exclusion from the Senate of the 20 Senators from the ten southern states. This exclusion flouted and nullified the fundamental guarantee of state sovereignty, embodied in the provision in Article V of the Constitution that "no State, with-

out its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.”

An Amendment, which initially was imposed illegally and in defiance of the express provisions of article V, cannot be cited as justification for a policy which seeks to revolutionize the social conditions in the southern states. If the coerced ratifications of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 constitute an infraction of the amendment procedure ordained by Article V of the

Constitution, these enforced ratifications are just as violative of the provisions of Article V in 1958 as they were in 1868. The abuse of constitutional rights of 1868 does not give grounds for the further abuse which was offered by the Supreme Court integration decision of 1954. Both acts were conceived in the same un-American coercive spirit. Both will be rejected by the innate sense of fair play of the American people.

Condensed from an article published in the Tulane Law Review, December 1953, Vol. XXVIII, pages 22-24. Reprinted by special permission.

My Daze

A reappraisal of U.S. foreign policy—including settlement of the cold war through the recognition of Red China—was recently urged by a group of 42 “monthly-petition-signers” in an appeal to the 86th Congress. The group said Communist China was the “appropriate occupant of the China seat in the United Nations.” Its signers included Dr. John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary; Clarence Pickett, American Friends Service Committee; author Lewis Mumford; Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester U.S.A. (ret.); Prof. C. Wright Mills of Columbia; Prof. David Riesman of Harvard; author Erich Fromm; and (of course) Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

●

And from Mrs. Roosevelt’s “My Day” column, which is syndicated in some 75 daily newspapers, comes this tidy tidbit: “Our first day out on our current trip for the Association for the United Nations took us to Indiana, a state where the UN has not been popular in all circles, and therefore we have had some difficulty in finding a state chairman and starting chapters. But, as usual, it is the churches and the colleges and schools of communities that take the leadership in understanding the value of the United Nations and the necessity of our being active in international affairs. Our start in Indiana was made at Anderson College, about 35 miles from Indianapolis. Someone who analyzed the audience said it was interesting to see how many high school and college students were present, and how many members of the clergy of every denomination and school teachers and college professors, as well as industrial workers and farmers, were there. This is an industrial city, but management was conspicuous by its absence. Our industrialists needed to look a little farther into the future. They will soon find out that the UN has real importance for them, for it is through it that production will be spurred and the ability to buy goods can be achieved.”



IN VINCENNES, INDIANA, a city councilman says he is quitting his campaign against indecent magazines on the newsstands. While he was suggesting that a magazine dealer remove a display of nude femininity from his newsstand two elderly women came in and asked for "pinup pictures of men with big muscles."

IN ATLANTA, somebody stole a car belonging to Carl Smithwick, chief jailer at Fulton Tower prison, where persons charged with auto theft are held pending trial.

IN KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, a man arrested for drunken driving, insisting that he had only taken a little whiskey for a toothache, paid a \$50 fine when the court learned that he had no teeth.

THEFTS of top soil from the grounds of a Levittown, Pennsylvania, church stopped after the minister posted this sign: "Thou shalt not steal Church top soil."

JOHN H. FAIRWEATHER, is the director of the San Bernardino, California, air pollution control department.

THE LADIES of Tea, South Dakota, have decided to form a Coffee Club.

ONE EVENING recently, an arrow was shot through the window of a home in Montclair, New Jersey. A few nights later another arrow broke a second window in the house. This one had a \$2 bill wrapped around it with a note saying it was in payment for the first window.

A 1600-YEAR-OLD Roman coin was collected from a Miami Beach parking meter.

A SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, public library reported that the Bible is the book most stolen from its premises.

IN A RECENT SAVANNAH, Georgia, election campaign, one of the candidates challenged his opponents to a face-to-face debate—complete with lie detectors.

A CURRENT STUDY reveals that the most popular reading in prison libraries is travel folders.

NEWLY ELECTED Governor George Docking of Kansas didn't get to dance at his inaugural ball last month. There just wasn't any room. More than 2,000 people jammed the ballroom so tightly that only part of the 300 member procession got inside behind the Governor and Mrs. Docking. The Dockings squeezed on through the crowd and went home.

GEORGE DEWITT, TV m.c., commenting on the Cuban situation noted "Show biz is a continuous struggle. Look at what Castro had to go through to get on the Ed Sullivan show."

A CRITIC commenting on the production of *Aida* by the Chicago Lyric Opera in which a messenger rushed onto the stage, opened his mouth to sing and nothing came out: "You couldn't blame him for not being able to sing. The poor guy had just run all the way from Thebes."

SIGN outside of a lumber yard: "For Sale—Dog House Suitable For Large Dog or Small Husband."

FORESTRY OFFICIALS report a duck shot down near Niigata in central Japan was wearing this leg band: "If found, advise Fish and Wildlife Service, Washington, D.C., U.S.A." The officials said they have no record of a duck having crossed the Pacific before, although there are known cases of Japanese Pigeons turning up in the US.

WHEN Southern Pacific Railroad's freight car switching yard at Visitation Valley, California, closed down for a night, there were a number of complaints from nearby residents: it was so quiet they couldn't sleep.

ASKED why he spent so much time sitting in court at Gastonia, North Carolina, Joe Westbrook explained: "I come here to see who the judge sentences so that I can get the man's job."

CLAUDE HOWE of St. Paul, Minnesota, has finally cashed a check for five cents that he had been carrying around with him for 55 years.

AS 400 PATRONS watched *The Man Inside* at the Oriental Theater in Boston, a man outside—in the lobby—escaped with a cashier's strong box containing the night's receipts.

NEW JERSEY's Garden State Parkway Stork Club now boasts 11 members. The unique society is composed of those who were born on the Parkway when their mothers couldn't beat the stork to the hospital.

IN THE MERCURY'S OPINION

The Labor Movement

By Russell Maguire

FOR MORE THAN a half-century the labor unions in the United States have been an effective and important factor in the nation's progress.

For most of this time the affairs of the unions have been in the hands of capable men, many of them brilliant, and their growth has been steady and upward. True, there has been bitterness and occasional strife, but the result has been steady progress toward the highest standard of living the world has ever known.

As the movement grew, with its tremendous potential, politically and economically, it has attracted the attention of many who have no place in its framework. Unions have accumulated vast fortunes, tremendous political power, and indeed today they are the single most powerful group in our country.

It is obvious those charged with the responsibility of administering the affairs of this vital segment of our country should be of unquestionable honesty and integrity.

This is not always the case.

Can any sensible person contend that Jimmy Hoffa has any place in the American labor movement? Does Walter Reuther truly represent the working class of the country? Do the gangsters, thieves and strong-arm men who infest the labor union represent dues-paying members?

Of course they do not.

With this in mind, we on the AMERICAN MERCURY team, after careful research, present the labor situation as it is today. In this issue we fully document the unbelievable activities of Jimmy Hoffa. The ambitions and ruthlessness of Walter Reuther are exposed for all to see. The un-American and scarcely believable activities of certain unions in connection with our Congress are set forth.

It is a sad picture. These United States should be ashamed of it. The present destructive activities must be changed if the union movement is to survive.

The relief lies in legislative action

by our Congress. Their stand must be courageous and farseeing. They will take this stand only when our people are awakened and truthfully informed.

After you read these all-important articles in this month's *MERCURY*, please write your Senators and Congressmen. As this issue of our magazine goes to press, the Senate Racket Probe Committee, headed by Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, announces plans to stage a series of televised hearings.

The stars on this nationwide performance are expected to be truck czar Abe Chait, and Thomas Lucchese, (he is better-known as Three-Finger Brown). Undoubtedly, the hearing will provide sensational testimony. Gangsters, and those that they front for, will be widely publicized.

We are all for exposing racketeers. We want to help the Committee do their job. But we, along with the rest of the United States, continue to wonder when the Committee is going to get around to the number one target—Walter P. Reuther. When are they going to put the arrogant, inflexible leader of the United Auto Workers before the television cameras and ask him some long overdue questions on his political activities? The public

wants to know how much money his outfit and its affiliates have spent to win elections for their favorites and to beat those they dislike. When are they going to ask Mr. Reuther about his murderous goons in the United Automobile Workers' strike against the Kohler Company in Wisconsin?

IN FACT, the Committee is rapidly bringing about a situation where its members, themselves, may have to answer a few pointed questions. Reuther has been the sacred cow. His immunity from questioning by the Committee is not helping the Committee's reputation.

The New York *Daily News* recently said "Until and unless he (Reuther) comes on stage, this whole racket-probe will continue to seem like a performance of *Hamlet* with Hamlet missing. What's holding up Reuther's entrance, anyway?"

And who is behind Reuther?

Only an "invisible government" has sufficient power to protect Reuther for so long a time. But no power can continue to protect him, or anyone else, once the informed people swing into action. *MERCURY* wants an honest labor movement. Good citizens will help it to clean house.

When You Change Your Address

Notify the Subscription Department of the *AMERICAN MERCURY*, 250 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y., 45 days in advance, including your old address as printed on the magazine wrapper, as well as your new address.

Subversion by the Communist underground remains the strongest weapon against U.S.A.

by Ralph de Toledano

WITH MISSILE rockets hurtling through space at the speed of seven miles a second, the problem of Communist subversion seems old-fashioned almost to the point of quaintness. Yet all the revolutionary technology of the nuclear age has not made obsolescent what may appear like the horse-and-buggy concepts of civil war and civil disturbance. The Communists, with their plans for the internal assault on this nation, are still very much with us.

The great mushroom which bloomed over Hiroshima added but one new factor to the strategy and tactics of Communist subversion. Whereas in the past subversive conspiracy was but one arrow in the sling of revolutionary states, it has become the main weapon in the Soviet arsenal. It may manifest itself

in many forms, but the categorical destructiveness of nuclear weapons has neutralized them. Our armies and navies, our air forces—these are vitally necessary in the elaborate process of stalemate which has become the function of Western and Soviet armed might. This process must continue. We are lost if the West—particularly this nation—does not understand, assimilate, and employ the methodology of applied subversion.

Americans do not understand this methodology—in fact, they think there is something a little overripe about those who devote their attention to the problem. When Whittaker Chambers remarked some years ago that “there are spies and traitors all about us,” those who mold our minds were either outraged or convulsed. The

fact he was stating, however, should have been apparent to anyone whose reading of history extends beyond elementary school texts.

Since the overthrow of King Charles I, civil war and subversion have been endemic to the Western world. Communist revolutionists did not invent the techniques so successful today. Lenin's seizure of the Constituent Assembly and Cromwell's overthrow of the British monarchy, by their controlled interaction of troops and mobs, were brothers under the slogans. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a series of internal upheavals linked by an international *Weltanschauung* which in 1919 concretized itself in the Comintern. Today, civil war is all about us in a thousand manifestations of subversion and conspiracy, of stupid acquiescence and cynical resignation. It is the toy of millionaires and the self-abuse of intellectuals.

The A-bomb, the H-bomb, the ICBM are, in the active sense, significant and commanding only insofar as they are not used. The arsenal of nuclear weapons serves a psychological rather than a military function. For the Soviets, it is designed to destroy the will to resist in the free world, to make Goliath stretch out before David and ask for the stroke of the sword.

Nuclear weapons serve to stir the Gargantuan mind and picayune understanding of Bertrand Russell, who urges us to disarm unilaterally

and to accept Communist domination rather than what he chose to call "the end of the human race." They encourage the outbursts of a Cyrus Eaton who rattles his dollars and seeks to discredit the guardians of our internal security. A justice of our Supreme Court writes the introduction to a book by a notorious fellow traveler—a book which belabors the United States for its defense of the Korean Republic and equates us with the Communists.

Communist strategists know what we do not: that the secret weapon of any state when confronted by internal subversion and disturbance is the will to resist.

IT IS A PRIME AXIOM that no revolution in modern history has succeeded without a concomitant destruction of the will to resist in legitimate governments. There is much talk of belly-communism, talk which thrives on a complete falsification of history. The French Revolution is always the example given.

Generations of school children, since the days of William Wordsworth, hold the passionate belief that hunger and oppression led the Jacobin mobs which guillotined Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. The meticulous and inspired reporting of Alexis de Tocqueville, ignored by the popularizers, proves conclusively that France was going through the greatest prosperity in several dec-

ades when sans-culottism swept in and that the Bastille—presumably crowded with political prisoners—was literally empty and had been for a long time—when the mobs of Paris stormed its ancient walls.

We forget that Lenin himself described the Kerensky regime which preceded his as the freest government in the world—whereas desperate heroism, hunger, ideological fervor, and the desire for freedom could not prevail in Hungary. The successful revolutionary assault, therefore, is not on the government but on the national will.

The immediate function of any Communist Party, therefore, is not the violent overthrow of the government—in the limited legal sense demanded by our contemporary courts—but in the sapping of allegiances, the dissemination of confusion, the instillment of fear, and the poisoning of faith in our institutions, in ourselves, in our God. Its aim is to halt the civil peristalsis. The Communist Party is a paramilitary force, true—but its ammunition is far subtler than bullets and hand grenades.

With this in mind, it becomes important to consider first the nature of the Communist who makes up this paramilitary force. For the sake of precision, let me refer to him as the Bolshevik. The Bolshevik is not a “liberal in a hurry.” He is a Marxist only to this extent—that he accepts a general theory of the organization of the state. “Scientific

socialism,” the totality of a regimented world structure, certain outward patterns and certain semantic stridencies—all these he has incorporated into his thinking.

BUT THE ANCESTORS of Bolshevism are not Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. They are two men, one hardly known to the West, Bakunin and Nechaev—two faces merged into the Janus-like configuration of Leninism and Stalinism. There is no facet of the Communist world revolution which does not reflect the baleful light of these two Messianic Russians—one self-deluded, the other so obsessively evil that he served as a model for Dostoevski's *The Possessed*. The Bolshevik practitioners, piling fagots on the world's trouble spots, may think that they were suckled on the Communist Manifesto, but they drew their milk from a forgotten little pamphlet, twenty-five hundred words in all. It is called *Catechism of a Revolutionist*; it was written by Bakunin and Nechaev; this is how it begins:

The revolutionist is a doomed man. He has no personal interests, no affairs, sentiments, attachments, property, not even a name of his own. Everything in him is absorbed by one exclusive interest, one thought, one passion—the revolution.

The Byronic concept of the revolutionist—or its more intellectual-

ized counterpart in a man like André Malraux—is cast aside. So too is the doctrinaire conformity demanded of the orthodox Marxist. Morals, the accoutrements of culture, the softening decencies of everyday associations—these no longer exist. The revolutionist of the Bakunin-Nechaev school—and hence, the Leninist school—makes a pact with the revolution which prepares him for torture or death. His enemy is established society, a society he categorizes neatly. Some members of society are to be condemned to death and ruthlessly liquidated. Those of the ruling class who contribute to the revolutionary spirit by their acts of brutality against people are to be encouraged and preserved. They will goad the inert mass into unreasoning violence. And, the *Catechism* adds:

One may conspire (with the liberals) in accordance with their programs, making believe that one follows them blindly, and at the same time one should take hold of them, get possession of all their secrets, compromise them to the utmost . . . use them as instruments for stirring up disturbances in the State.

The Bakunist-Nechaevist has a basic contempt for the “doctrinaires” who spend their time “talking idly in groups and on paper.” This contempt we have seen in the utterances of Joseph Stalin, and in

his disregard of the Marxist dialectic. *Catechism of the Revolutionist* argues that these “Talmudic” debaters of revolution are to be tugged into the arena of force and violence which will destroy most of them but serve as “real revolutionary training” for a hard core which will break loose and join the true faith. Agents in what Harold Laski called the “organization of catastrophe,” and makers of despair, these revolutionists are urged to seek out the “bold world of bandits” and to combine with it. Have we forgotten that Stalin robbed banks?

HERE THEN IS THE iron law which binds the Bolshevik, reiterated many decades later by J. Peters in his *Manual of Organization*, a Communist *vade mecum*, summed up poetically by Bertoldt Brecht in that chillingly luminous line, “Sink into the mud, embrace the butcher, but change the world” and chanted in tender ditty by the German Communists as the Weimar Republic sank into its own morasses: “Grease the guillotine with the fat of the tyrants/Blood, blood, blood must flow.”

If we are to understand what faces the free world, we must first come to grips with the Leninist concept of the revolutionary. Not every conspirator or subversive is cut from the same heroic pattern or shares the same determination. There are timeservers and bureau-

crats in plenty, all helping to make up the corpus of international Communism. There are weak men and scoundrels and men of soul who defect to freedom. But the weak and the dishonest do not command the paramilitary forces of Communism—they are merely a part of them. If military victory were a simple function of unanimous courage, what wars would be won?

WE ONCE THOUGHT OF the Communist as an unkempt type futilely debating in a Union Square cafeteria. It would be an equally serious mistake to accept the stereotype of the steely eye and the commissar manner. Alger Hiss was, and is, one of the prototypes of the Bolshevik. Yet on the surface and in ordinary discourse, he was a man of somewhat mincing step and manner and, behind the charm, a crashing bore. Richard Sorge, perhaps the most effective espionage agent turned out by the Red Army's Fourth Bureau, was hard-drinking and hard-lusting, yet he plundered the secrets of the very Nazis and Japanese whose whiskey he drank and whose wives he seduced. The leaders of the American Communist Party seem flabby, even a little fey—yet the incidence of combat decorations among them is startlingly high.

It is from this diversity that Communism fills its table of organization. Each comrade has his rank and his assigned role. Each com-

rade delivers himself to a military discipline. Thousands of intellectuals, to the lecture platform born, in 1948 accepted party orders to join the campaign of "industrial concentration," a process of colonization and infiltration of the nation's key plants and factories.

"Plant you now, dig you later," the Communist Party said. One man held in reserve until the calibrated moment can do more damage than a dozen rioting mobs, just as a single sniper can immobilize a company of troops.

A strategic minority can achieve much with little—on somewhat the same principle. Neither theory is original with the Communists, nor is it exclusively theirs. Walter Reuther, with less than a hundred men, employed the theory of the strategic minority in the 1930's. With this fulcrum he broke management resistance to the UAW and launched a powerful mass union.

Size, therefore, is secondary in Communist organization. When the "revolutionary situation" comes about, sergeants become colonels as new recruits are trained by the Bolshevik cadres. For those who find the size of today's Communist Party a cause for encouragement, let it be recalled that Lenin disapproved of mass membership in the precombat stages, and that he developed the technique of the continuing purge to keep the party vigorous. Organization must fit the

situation, and in the CPUSA that organization is triangular.

There are, then, three Communist Parties in this country, directed by parallel chains of command from Moscow, the Soviet Embassy, and a highly mobile "field headquarters." These three parties are: The so-called Open Party, the underground party, and the reserve or sleeper apparatus. (I have not listed any of the dozen apparatuses, working in tandem, which carry out the Soviet Union's espionage missions. These fall into the category of military intelligence and are directed by the Red Army, the secret police, the Comintern, or the torture brigades known as Smersh.)

Of these three parties, the "open party" is the least important. It is made up of the expendables, the old hacks, the swing men of the front groups, the shouters and debaters. It has a double mission: to draw fire and to bring in the recruits. Its membership is estimated at seven to ten thousand.

The underground party is organized by Bakuninist lines, concretized by one B. Vassiliev in 1931, under the title: *Organizational Problems in Underground Revolutionary Work*. This Communist outline runs to five pages. It merits serious study. Vassiliev directed:

In proportion as the legal apparatus of the party is liquidated, the directing functions will inevitably require a regrouping of party forces

and the reorganization of the party apparatus. This reconstruction of the work will pass more and more to the illegal apparatus.

This has been going on, carefully and methodically, since the inception of the cold war. The underground party has been split up into several thousand fragments, the base being a cell of no more than ten, but usually five, members. Maximum security is maintained in liaison between cell, section, district, and national leaders. There is frequent use of couriers—telephones are banned—with the time-honored use of "cut-outs" to evade discovery. The party's financial structure has been overhauled to make the millions of dollars previously invested in legitimate enterprises more easily available. Caches of money—one of about half-a-million dollars—are kept.

EACH MEMBER of the underground party operates like a soldier behind enemy lines. The more important comrades are provided with a false identity, false Social Security cards, and a false driver's license. For the top echelons, party doctors are available to change the color of hair, shape of eyebrows, size of nose. In Vassiliev's detailed instructions, it was mandatory

(a) to find a building for storing Party archives; (b) to organize an illegal printing plant in which it would be possible to print the Party

organ in case of suppression and closing of the legal Party papers and journals; (c) to form an apparatus for distributing illegal party literature; (d) to prepare a definite group of leading Party activists to pass into illegality; (e) to prepare addresses and houses for illegal correspondence, for secret sessions of the leading Party organs and also for housing the illegal Party activists and for conferences between them and the workers who continue to be on a legal footing; (f) to prepare a minimum number of workers who understand the elementary rules of the technique of underground work . . .

Every one of these organizational plans is now operational. Combat veterans in the party have been organized into hard-hitting flying squads for use in riot work. Beyond this, the Communists have set up a Red equivalent of the underground railroads which existed prior to the War Between the States. The policy of "industrial concentration" has put more than 75 per cent of the underground party's mobile effectives into plants and factories where they can mold trade union policy now and sabotage by slowdowns and flash strikes in times of international crisis. Today, they have successfully infiltrated the largest local in the United Auto Workers union, and have begun the slow recapture of other unions. Less muscular troops have been carefully planted in everything

from Parent-Teacher organizations to the grass roots echelons of legitimate political parties—and this includes the Republican Party. For the first time in a decade, spheres of influence have been reestablished in the Congress of the United States.

THE THIRD GROUPING of Communists is the most dangerous and the most potent. I refer to the "reserve" or "sleeper" apparatus. It is made up of people who have never joined a Communist front or identified themselves with a secret party cell. Record of the membership is kept in Moscow, and an approach to one of them may not be made for months or years. The member of the reserve remains on tap for one great assignment which exposes him, or for the small, subtle undermining of the will to resist of the nation.

There is another function of the sleeper apparatus, effective but beyond the reach of counter-intelligence. It operated silently during the Hiss case when—from the bars of Wall Street clubs to the comfortable reaches of Park Avenue—its poison dripped down every day and in every way, never defending treason but always besmirching those who exposed it. Editors and editorial writers on great newspapers, commentators, artists and entertainers—those responsible for the propaganda fallout which deforms the minds and thoughts of people in these terrible times—are

included in the sleeper—part of the three-way drive to destroy America.

THIS is the paramilitary organism which threatens us. Seizure of power is its ultimate goal, but not by any frontal attack. The civil war to which it is directed has been going on for years; and, despite our smug complacencies, its victories have been considerable and steady. Let me enumerate:

1. In the past four years, anti-Communists in this country have been systematically discredited and destroyed. With wise looks and smart sayings, those with specialized knowledge have been driven out of the market place of ideas. By innuendo, they find themselves deprived of standing in the intellectual community. They are accused of being “hysterical,” of “seeing Communists under beds,” of having lost a sense of proportion. And in time, they are elbowed out of the scholarly projects, the entertainment field, the bookstores. Foundations, which control so much of the nation’s intellectual life, shun them.

This is not accident. It is all planned—the work of the sleeper, but never sleeping, apparatus—and in most cases those who carry out the plan do not know that they are being manipulated.

2. Communists and pro-Communists who were painstakingly forced out of positions of influence in the mass media and the field of communications are returning.

They are back on the networks, in Hollywood, in the publishing houses. They are strong enough to keep the paperback field relatively clean of anti-Communist material. They are back in the teaching profession. Even convicted traitors—like Alger Hiss—are now being renovated by such publications as the *Saturday Review*.

3. At every point of vulnerability, campaigns are being mounted and are meeting with increasing success: Stop nuclear testing, with or without adequate safeguards; recognize Red China, however it may open the way for Communist domination of the critically important overseas Chinese. Lower barriers on trade with Iron Curtain countries, even if it means strengthening their war potential. Curb the FBI, whatever the cost to internal security. Abolish Congressional investigation of subversion. Rip away all forms of government secrecy, legitimate or not, in the name of press freedom. And most of all, let’s not be beastly to the Russians; turn the other cheek.

4. Coincident with these campaigns, voices urge the superiority of the Soviet system—its science, its education, its armaments, even its creaking productive capacity. At every hand so-called experts loudly deplore presumed American inadequacies—till the average citizen believes that this nation is hopelessly weak and unable to withstand the Communist onslaught. In this con-

test, Bertrand Russell's plea that we surrender begins to make sense.

THIS IS NOT to imply that every man who raises his voice in behalf of these causes is broadcasting on a Moscow wave length. No one asks for a nation of tub-thumpers. But it is a fact that the intellectual atmosphere which agitates decent people over these issues—and the direction that agitation takes—is a function of the civil war now being waged in this country.

When a union newspaper attempts to terrorize its readers into a belief that their milk is poisoned by strontium 90, this is as much a manifestation of the civil war as the drilling squads of underground party activists. Those squads exist, trained in the use of baseball bats, picket sticks, hat pins, and the rest of the close-order drill of riot duty. But they are used almost never—when the order comes to put them into the field, the battle will be over. It will be over because the will to resist will be dead. The activists will storm an empty Bastille.

Not too many years ago the Office of Naval Intelligence was or-

dered by President Roosevelt to disband its Red Desk and destroy its files. Those files were never destroyed. They were carried out, as an admiral later admitted, on the backs of high-ranking officers who would not let politics triumph over patriotism. Would the Navy do as much today? Or has the will to resist begun to crumble?

Civil war and the violent seizure of power are easy to understand. The will to resist is intangible; once destroyed it may never be recreated. Not all the nuclear weapons of an atomic age, not all the brilliant strategic plans devised, not all the genius of production and logistics can prevail, once that will is gone.

This is what the Communists understand.

That is what they mean by civil war, by internal subversion.

Karl Marx once wrote: "Neither a nation nor a woman can be forgiven for the unguarded hour in which a chance comer has seized the opportunity for an act of rape." Can there be less forgiveness for those who today watch the rapist at work?

An Attache Case

... Mikoyan, this foreign trade minister, sent an order, a very secret order. All the responsible, prominent members, the Soviet representatives in the United States (telling them), how to carry on economic espionage and on what special problems in the United States. This document was delivered to special secret agents in Washington, and it goes without saying, was delivered, thanks to diplomatic immunity.—Victor A. Kravchenko, in testimony given in April, 1947, before Committee on Un-American Activities, and published on page 25, Report by HUAC titled "Patterns of Communist Espionage", January, 1959.

JIMMY HOFFA'S

by Robert E. Thompson

DIMINUTIVE DICTATOR of the nation's largest union, James Riddle Hoffa has shaped a terrifying scheme of empire that would place in his ruthless hands the power to withhold food, clothing, and police and fire protection from the American people unless they acquiesce to his every demand.

Hoffa's bizarre blueprint for conquest of the American economy stipulates that Jimmy himself will become czar of the nation's vital transportation facilities, as well as boss of millions of policemen, firemen and government employes across the nation.

A single order from this brazen confidant of gangsters could halt all trucking, prevent the unloading of ships, prohibit the flow of cargo by air or rail, and call from their jobs the individuals who run state and local governments and protect public and private property.

All the essentials of everyday living could become pawns in a Hoffa-hatched plot to blackmail the Amer-

ican people into outrageous concessions to his hoodlum empire.

Can Hoffa be stopped? A series of important developments within the Congress, the courts, the city of New York, departments of the federal government and organized labor itself in the closing weeks of 1958 and the first days of 1959 indicated the answer is: "Yes."

Victory will not come easy. Hoffa, wounded by concerted public attack and intoxicated by his own success, is on one of the great power binges in American history, and is not about to sober up without a monumental struggle.

It actually is nothing short of fantastic that Jimmy Hoffa, a rough and rude product of the Midwest coal fields and of three decades of Detroit labor strife, could soar toward such heights in an America that has harnessed the atom, conquered space and advanced beyond any nation in history in technological development.

Yet, the pocket-size Caesar of the

American labor movement has taken giant strides toward erection of his unholy dynasty of despoilment.

Hoffa's hold on the 1,600,000-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters is so firm that a series of law suits, court trials, Congressional investigations and published exposes, and ouster from the AFL-CIO have failed to weaken it.

Hoffa, assisted by such unsavory elements as the International Longshoremen's Association and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, is attempting to band under his own bossdom some 50 unions representing trucking, railroad, maritime, and airline workers.

Hoffa is forging ahead with plans to organize into the Teamsters Union 10 million county, city and state employees in the United States, including police and firemen.

IF ALL HIS PLANS could evolve successfully, Jimmy Hoffa would become more powerful than any single man in this nation—except the President of the United States. And, in some ways, an individual with such immense economic and political authority would possess extragovernmental powers beyond even those of the Chief Executive.

Robert F. Kennedy, chief counsel to the Senate Rackets Committee and the individual who probably has done the most to expose Hoffa, warns: "Jimmy Hoffa now has power to tie up the nation's trans-

portation industry. It would be a national tragedy if he spun policemen, firemen and government workers into his ugly web. This would allow Hoffa to tie our economy in knots. He could blackmail the nation into anything by denying the people their safety and sustenance."

The grasp for power has been Jimmy Hoffa's mode of living in and out of the labor movement since the days of his adolescence.

Hoffa was born in the coal-mining community of Brazil, Indiana, on St. Valentine's Day, 1913. Any influence the gentle sentiments of that day might have had on Jimmy, however, seem to have vanished long before he began hurtling himself upward over the frightened—and sometimes maimed—figures of unionists and non-unionists alike.

Jimmy's character was shaped in surroundings hardly conducive to Valentine-like niceties.

His father, a coal driller who worked the coal fields of Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky, died of an occupational disease when Jimmy was eight. His mother then took on the burden of supporting her family, moving first to Clinton, Indiana, and finally, in 1925, to Detroit.

At the age of 16, Jimmy got his first full-time job as a stockboy in a Detroit department store, and a year later began unloading produce-laden boxcars at the Kroger Grocery Company warehouse for 32 cents an hour.

The Kroger job provided Jimmy with his first excursion into labor activities. He helped mastermind a strike just at the moment a load of perishable strawberries arrived and forced the company into recognizing his independent union and granting some concessions to workers.

This initial skirmish was so successful that the AFL granted Jimmy's union a charter, and in 1932 it became affiliated with the Teamsters.

Jimmy Hoffa may not have known it at the time. But, he was on his way in the American labor movement.

In 1933, Jimmy took over the reins of Teamsters Local 299, which, until that time, had been in grave financial difficulties and was under trusteeship. Jimmy made his first real mark in the labor world soon thereafter with a move to organize the truckaway, driveaway and car haulers workers.

HE WAS ELECTED president of Local 299 in 1937 and the same year married Josephine Poszywak, whom he had met on a picket line.

If Jimmy had been on his way in 1932, he was zooming by 1940. He was selected chairman of the Central States Drivers' Council that year and two years later was made president of the Michigan Teamsters Conference, which he had organized.

The late Dan Tobin, who still

headed the Teamsters in those days, elevated Jimmy to international trustee in 1943, and in 1946 Hoffa was elected president of Joint Council 43 in Detroit.

Hoffa stands only five feet, five inches in height, has a perennially adolescent face, a vocabulary in which four-letter words are the rule rather than the exception, and possesses a cockiness possibly unequaled in trade unionism. He is something of a combination Andy Hardy-Humphrey Bogart.

Jimmy's minute size did not keep him free from physical violence or jail cells during his rise from the Teamsters' ranks.

During the 1939 Crowley-Milner strike, Hoffa was jailed 24 times in 24 hours. Jimmy has said: "Every time I showed up on the picket line, I got thrown into jail. Every time they released me, I went back to the picket line . . . but we stayed on that picket line for a year and a half, and we won the strike."

This type of boast has a three-fold purpose for Jimmy. It proves he is tough. It indicates nothing can deter him from gaining benefits for the laboring man. It shows the type of dogged determination that carried him to the top of the nation's sprawlingest, brawlingest union.

Hoffa has a record of at least 17 arrests and three convictions—in 1937 for assault and battery; in 1940 for monopoly conspiracy, and in 1947 for attempted extortion under Michigan law.

Two events in 1956 and 1957, however, proved to Jimmy that it all had been worth while.

In April, 1956, some 2,650 persons—including executives of General Motors, Ford and Chrysler—paid \$100 a plate to pay tribute to Jimmy in what has been reported as the biggest testimonial in Detroit's history. Money from the dinner was donated for construction of a hospital in Israel.

In October, 1957, Jimmy was elected to succeed Dave Beck as president of the Teamsters Union.

WERE IT NOT for the tragic record of violence and corruption that has marked his road to success, Jimmy Hoffa might be considered a model Horatio Alger type—had big unionism been considered as respectable in Alger's day as big business. Success has not greatly altered Jimmy's simple mode of living, his abstinence from tobacco and liquor, or his devotion to his wife and two children.

But Hoffa's series of arrests and convictions, his alliances with such underworld bosses as John (Johnny Dio) Dioguardi and Anthony (Tony Ducks) Corallo, his suppression of democracy within the union and his improper use of union funds are hardly in the Horatio Alger tradition.

The Senate Rackets Committee, which has been investigating Hoffa for two years, has charged him in 82 specific instances with collusion

with employers, conflicts of interest, tie-ups with hoodlums and gangsters, the rigging of union elections, the spending of dues funds "as if they were his own," and suppressing the rights of members through brute force.

Among the more flagrant examples of Hoffaism cited by the Committee were these:

Hoffa "masterminded" the chartering of seven bogus "paper locals" in New York. These locals were gangster-controlled, devoid of actual membership and set up to steal the election of the president of powerful Joint Council 16 for Hoffa's buddy, John O'Rourke.

Hoffa "obstructed justice" by having secret Grand Jury testimony in Michigan leaked to him. He then forced a witness who gave detrimental evidence to flee to California before the witness could further testify.

Hoffa arranged for \$200,000 in Teamsters welfare funds to be loaned to a Minneapolis Department store at a time when that store was in the midst of a strike with a fellow AFL union.

Hoffa maneuvered \$31,953 in union dues into the defense of four teamsters officials who were tried and found guilty of extorting money from employers.

Hoffa spent an additional \$22,428 in union funds to defend one of the four—twice-convicted extortionist Gerald Connelly of Minneapolis—after he had been indicted in con-

nection with the dynamiting of two fellow teamster officials.

Hoffa arranged for Zigmont Snyder to be appointed business agent of Detroit Local 299, although Snyder was a "notorious hoodlum" who operated a non-union Detroit car wash in which he sometimes paid workers less than \$1 a day for 12 hours work.

Hoffa had \$500,000 in union funds transferred to a Florida Bank to assure a loan of a corresponding amount of money from the bank to a land development scheme in which Hoffa and his chief lieutenant, Owen Bert Brennan, held a 45 per cent option to purchase.

Hoffa kept Henry Lower, promoter of the Florida land deal, on the union payroll to the tune of \$59,000 in salary and expenses while he set up the real estate scheme.

Hoffa has constantly defended and aided Teamsters officials who "were selling out the interests of Teamster Union members by setting themselves up in highly improper business activities and by entering into collusive agreements with employers."

Seventy-five per cent or more of the delegates to the 1957 convention that elected Hoffa president were chosen in violation of the union constitution. These included delegates from Hoffa's own local, 299, and Owen Bert Brennan's local, 337.

Hoffa repeatedly has named hoodlums, ex-convicts, and individ-

uals under indictment to high posts in the union.

Hoffa and Brennan were aided by Bert Beveridge, owner of a trucking firm, in acquiring a truck company for themselves. They then made special concessions to Beveridge in his labor contract with the Teamsters Union to the detriment of workers.

THE WIVES of Hoffa and Brennan, using their maiden names, have been involved in a series of business arrangements with firms that the Teamsters must negotiate with.

Hoffa built an alliance with the International Longshoremen's Association and attempted to lend it \$490,000 from Teamsters coffers after the ILA was ousted from the AFL-CIO because it was bossed by racketeers.

Hoffa attempted to force 30,000 New York taxicab drivers into a union run by gangster Johnny Dio, although his own union was attempting to organize the drivers.

Hoffa caused the Health and Welfare Fund of the Michigan Conference of Teamsters to lose \$600,000 in the first three years of operation because he awarded the fund's contract to the Union Insurance Agency, run by his pal, Allen Dorfman.

Hoffa forced the union to pay between \$5,000 and \$7,000 to find the runaway wife of his brother, William Hoffa, and made the union pay William's hotel bill and \$75 in

expenses while William was eluding police who wanted him on an armed robbery charge.

These are but a handful of disclosures made about Hoffa and his cohorts by the Rackets Committee. Jimmy seldom denies the accusations and has never invoked the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination in refusing to answer. He simply forgets.

When Committee interrogators get down to naked facts concerning Jimmy's conduct and associations, Hoffa usually "can't recall" the incidents or the pertinent facts involved.

IN AN ILLUMINATING bit of testimony on August 20, 1957, however, Hoffa provided the public with important clues to his views on the way union money should be spent and the kind of men who should hold union office.

He first acknowledged channeling \$5,000 from the Michigan Conference of Teamsters into the intra-union election campaign of Edward Crumback, who was attempting to retain his post as boss of Philadelphia Local 107. Chief Counsel Robert F. Kennedy and Committee Chairman John McClellan of Arkansas led off the interrogation:

Robt. Kennedy: What was this payment for?

Hoffa: For the purpose of Crumback having an opportunity to be able to retain his position in the local union election, voluntary donation.

Robt. Kennedy: It was a \$5,000 donation from this Michigan Conference of Teamsters to Mr. Crumback, who was running for re-election: is that right?

Hoffa: It was a donation to Crumback to do as he saw fit with in his election.

Robt. Kennedy: And where was he running for election?

Hoffa: Local 107, Philadelphia.

Robt. Kennedy: So, the union funds of the Michigan Conference of Teamsters were donated to a man who was running for an elective office of the Teamsters in Philadelphia; is that right?

Hoffa: That is correct, for the purpose that we knew was necessary for the benefit of the Michigan Conference of Teamsters, because we have trucks running in and out of Philadelphia, and a strike in Philadelphia can affect the city of Detroit.

Senator McClellan: Who was Mr. Crumback's opponent?

Hoffa: A Mr. Ray Cohen.

Senator McClellan: Mister who?

Hoffa: Ray Cohen . . .

Senator McClellan: . . . is it a practice for the conference to take issue in local elections in other areas of the country?

Hoffa: Wherever we think it affects our interest, we definitely take a position in it.

Senator McClellan: In other words, you used the dues money of the folks out at Michigan to try to influence the election in Pennsylvania?

Hoffa: There is no question about it. Anywhere in the country

where we think it will affect our economic issues or affect our members.

Senator McClellan: There is just one point that comes to my mind under the democratic processes, do you think it would have been better to let the individuals of that local choose their own officials?

Hoffa: I believe that it is the right of each Teamster member in this country and each officer to have the right to go into any given territory where there is a chartered Teamster union to work in behalf of any candidate that they believe will be to the best interest of a whole of the members affected not only in that city but other cities on an intra basis.

Senator McClellan: That gives rise to this thought. Suppose a little local up in Philadelphia or somewhere else was a local that did not have a great deal of finances, the membership possibly have not built up the treasury as much as you have built it up in the conference. Would that not put them at some disadvantage for a conference to make available its financial strength to a favorite candidate?

Hoffa: On the same basis as the Republican and Democratic national committees do: yes, sir.

Senator McClellan: Well, they have a nationwide interest. Do you take the position that the Western Conference has a nationwide interest to undertake to control the election on the east coast?

Hoffa: I certainly do.

To this point, Hoffa had made it clear that his union could use money collected from members to

help defeat those members when they sought union office anywhere in the nation.

He had, however, pointed out that in the Philadelphia election his Michigan Conference had opposed Ray Cohen, an individual now under investigation after having invoked the fifth amendment 97 times before the McClellan Committee in refusing to discuss the allegedly improper use of nearly \$500,000 in union funds.

HOFFA ALSO had attempted to cloak his operation behind the claim that Democrats and Republicans do the same thing. Then Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts took over the questioning.

Senator Kennedy: You stated about the Democratic National Committee and the Republican National Committee. I never heard of the national committee giving money to one candidate in a Democratic or Republican primary.

Hoffa: Possibly so.

Senator Kennedy: It would not be so. They are supposed to be neutral in their party structure. I do not really see what business it is of yours . . . who is selected president among two members of the Teamsters Union in a local in Philadelphia. What is it your business? You use union funds to influence the choice of two Teamster union members in an election for President. What is the theory behind that?

Hoffa: The theory is very simple.

One of self-preservation for the members of the local union that has interstate business concerning the local union that you are assisting.

Senator Kennedy: Do you feel that as a general principle, whenever in your judgment it is in the best interest of the Teamsters, that it is proper for you to spend union funds to influence the election in any Teamster local in the country?

Hoffa: Not my personal say-so. But, after I have consulted the responsible people, and if they agree, then I do believe that we have a right to take a position of presenting, of being able to present, views to members who ultimately will make their own decision.

Senator Kennedy: You stated that your own local has over a million dollars in the treasury?

Hoffa: Yes, sir.

Senator Kennedy: Therefore, you have this large amount of money belonging to your local, and it is only one of the locals in which you have strong influence, and you believe that it is proper any time there is an election to any local in the country, when you and what you call the responsible people, which may be your definition of them, whenever you feel that you get their agreement, you then feel it is possible to spend this money to influence the election between two Teamsters in any local in the country? Is that your opinion, Mr. Hoffa?

Hoffa: Senator, we don't influence the individual member. We try to give the individual candidate sufficient help in advising the members of why he is the potential best

candidate. I may say that in this instance (the Philadelphia election), Senator, the man who won the election turned out to be a better man for the members than the man that we supported. And I don't mind admitting it.

THIS, THEN, was as honest a picture of the Teamsters' election operation as you could get from Hoffa. It is no more like that of the two major political parties than Jimmy himself is like the majority of honest labor leaders in the nation.

Hoffa indicated he saw nothing wrong in spending one million dollars from his local's treasury to elect any individual or group of individuals to union office, providing they were cleared by "the responsible people"—which, of course, means Jimmy and his coterie of thugs.

In the Philadelphia election, he was willing to admit the "responsible people" had made a mistake. It is typical of Jimmy's evaluation of character that he now realizes "the better man for the members" was Ray Cohen, who has been accused by the Rackets Committee of dipping his hand frequently and excessively into the local's treasury.

Cohen is typical of the kind of individual Hoffa considers an exemplary union officer. The Rackets Committee found that at least 60 executives of the Teamsters union have been tried for a variety of crimes from murder on down.

The Committee also discovered

not a single important industrial area of this nation where the Teamsters have not been involved in corruption and hoodlumism. A quick look across America elicits these examples:

The East: Massive corruption in New York, where, for instance, Bernard Adelstein, secretary-treasurer of Local 813, "betrayed every principle of trade unionism" in subverting his union to the guile of Garbage King Vincente Squillante. Poor and uneducated Negro and Puerto Rican members of Teamsters locals were found in New York City to be working for substandard wages because crooked union bosses had signed "sweet-heart contracts" with dishonest employers.

The South: In Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, and Kentucky, investigators uncovered a fantastic wave of violence and property damage perpetrated by Teamsters goons. Testimony linked a judge to nearly \$20,000 in alleged payoffs to quash an indictment against Hoffa's rogues.

The Midwest: In his own original domain, Hoffa pulled in around him some of the nation's most notorious hoodlums and ex-convicts. "Extreme and extensive violence" was uncovered in both Michigan and Ohio.

The West: In the stronghold of Dave Beck's vanished empire, the Racket Committee found highly-placed Teamsters using the vast po-

litical and financial resources of their union to corrupt public officials and seize control of vice operations in Portland, Oregon.

IF THERE IS ONE incontestable fact that has been proved by the many disclosures of the McClellan Committee it is this: Wherever the Teamsters have moved in, violence and racketeering have followed.

In an angry burst at a Detroit prosecutor who refused to be influenced by Hoffa's gifts, Hoffa declared: "I have had every politician in town in my office." He then described how easy it would be for him to "frame" the prosecutor—now Wayne County Circuit Judge Joseph Rashid—or anyone else.

Although Rashid refused to cower before Hoffa's wrath or grovel for his gifts, there is evidence that Hoffa's influence and that of his colleagues has been felt elsewhere in the judiciary.

Joseph Schneiders, a minister and former Detroit television writer, producer and director, testified that the union secretly made campaign contributions totaling \$1,300 to Detroit Judge Joseph A. Gillis under the pretense that Gillis was a TV consultant to the union. Gillis later served as judge in a series of cases involving Teamsters.

Here are some revealing moments from Schneiders' testimony before the McClellan Committee. He is describing a meeting in Hoffa's office, attended by himself, Judge Gillis,

Hoffa, Owen Bert Brennan, and other Hoffa colleagues.

Schneiders: They asked me what I had in terms of a program, what I had outlined, so I outlined it verbally. Then Hoffa said, "How much is this going to cost me?" And I said, "Well, I would have to find out. I know roughly what the television time would cost, and probably production costs, but it would depend on the elements that went into it, and I would have to spend some time to get the estimate." He said, "I don't do business that way. How much does it cost?" Judge Gillis nudged me, and I took out a piece of paper and roughly figured it out at around \$1,000 a week, which made around \$13,000. Then to be included, because of the previous discussion, there was to be \$1,300 which was to go to Judge Gillis. I added that to it, and it came out rather roughly around—well, there were some other items. It came around \$15,000. I remember I made it 601 so it would not be a round figure.

Robt. Kennedy: So you told him \$15,601?

Schneiders: Yes.

Robt. Kennedy: What did he do?

Schneiders: He said, "Okay, that is fine." He pushed a button and a girl came in, and he said, "make out a check to Joe Schneiders, Inc., for \$15,601." He asked me if that was the right amount, and I said, "Yes." I said something about, "I hope it wasn't too much," and he said, "I get a thousand dollars a day, \$30,000 a month, I can do any-

thing with." At that point, I wished I had charged him \$25,000.

Judge Gillis refused the opportunity to testify on the matter.

Hoffa's statement that he received \$1,000 a day from the union and that he could do "anything" with it, is typical, however, of the Tiny Teamster's cavalier attitude toward the expenditure of union funds.

In 1958, the Rackets Committee found that Hoffa had deposited a \$300,000 check in a Florida bank to back up a loan from the bank to the land promotion scheme in which he held an interest.

BY WHOSE AUTHORITY and by what right did Jimmy shift \$300,000 belonging to the dues-paying members of the Teamsters union to a bank in Florida to support his own financial scheme? The ensuing testimony displayed Hoffa arrogance at its boldest:

Robt. Kennedy: . . . could you tell the Committee the circumstances surrounding the issuance of that check?

Hoffa: The check speaks for itself; it is a deposit in a bank.

Robt. Kennedy: Why were you depositing \$300,000 in a bank?

Hoffa: Because I wanted to.

In Hoffa's lengthy 1958 session with the Rackets panel, Senator Irving Ives of New York wanted to know why Robert "Barney" Baker, a thug with a police record, was retained in a high union post.

Hoffa: Senator, he is a great organizer, and every one of us has some faults.

Robt. Kennedy: I think what he (Baker) has done is clear and his associations, and the fact that I read out the names of the people he has been associated with: Cockeyed Dunn, Meyer Lansky, and Joe Adonis, Frank Costello, Jimmy Blue Eyes, Bugsy Siegel, John Vitali, Lou Farrell, and what else do you want? What does it take, Mr. Hoffa?

Hoffa: I think those names attract you a lot more than they attract me, and I say to you that Baker, being in the capacity of organizing and carrying out his position in organizing, that we would have no way of knowing he was talking to these individuals unless he wanted to tell us, and apparently he didn't. So I cannot be expected to reprimand an individual for something I didn't know at the time it was happening.

Senator Kennedy asked Hoffa in August, 1957, whether a union official who had business dealings with business men did not subject himself to unhealthy influences when he had to bargain a contract with these men.

Hoffa replied: "... I find nothing wrong with a labor representative having a business or his family having a business that may be in the same industry that that particular union has organized, because it has been my experience that if you can be corrupt for a very small

amount of money or a very large amount of money, there isn't much difference . . ."

The same day, Hoffa defended a \$50,000 loan made by the Teamsters Union to the trotting track where Owen Bert Brennan raced his horses.

Jimmy Hoffa went on trial in Washington in 1957 on charges of attempting to bribe a Rackets Committee investigator, John Cye Cheasty, into filtering secret information to him from the Committee's files. During the trial, a group of Hoffa's pals, including "Barney" Baker, ran up \$8,000 worth of hotel bills and expenses sitting around Washington, and the bills were paid by the union.

THE JURY THAT tried Hoffa was composed of eight Negroes and four whites. It finally freed Jimmy, but not until Jimmy's friend, Former Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis—the famed Brown Bomber—had made several conspicuous appearances in the courtroom to shake hands with Jimmy and wish him well.

Although Jimmy was found "not guilty," many were unconvinced of his innocence. One was Senator Irving Ives of New York.

Senator Ives: I said you tried to fix the Committee staff. You got off, but you had no business getting off.

Hoffa: Would you explain?

Senator Ives: Yes. One of our own staff members. You remember it as well as I do. You have two convictions in your background. You misused union funds, according to the records we have . . . you have been supporting convicted crooks for years. You have hired convicted burglars, robbers and narcotics pushers. You know that as well as I do.

Hoffa: I don't know anything about narcotics pushers.

Senator Ives: They have been in the union anyway.

Hoffa: They have not been in my union.

Senator Ives: They have been in the Teamsters. I don't know if its yours or somebody else's. There are individuals on the Teamsters' officers lists who have exhausted their appeal, who are still on the list. You read them this afternoon, some of them.

Hoffa: Excuse me.

Senator Ives: All you do is make excuses. Now, really I listened to you. You have not done, really, one effective thing to clean up this mess . . .

Senator Ives spoke a truism. There are no visible signs that Jimmy Hoffa has attempted to "clean up this mess."

What he has done, however, is try to whitewash his union and himself, and to employ a former United States Senator to accomplish his goal.

The story behind Jimmy's move is this: In 1957, 12 New York rank-and-file Teamsters and their attor-

ney, Godfrey Schmidt, launched a court fight to prevent Hoffa from being elected president of the union, charging that the convention had been fraudulently packed with Hoffa supporters.

When this maneuver failed and Jimmy was elected, the 13 rebels set out through the courts to prove that most of the delegates to the Miami Beach convention that elected Hoffa were chosen in violation of the union constitution.

While the fight went to court, Hoffa was not allowed to assume the presidency. Then came a compromise: Hoffa could become president of the union, but the court would designate a three-man board of monitors to scrutinize his actions and to preside over a clean-up of the union.

THE FIRST BOARD of monitors included Schmidt, a Teamsters attorney named L. N. D. Wells, and a retired judge. This trio, with Schmidt in lone dissent, let Jimmy continue along his free-wheeling way.

Then the judge resigned from the board, and Martin O'Donoghue, counsel for the Plumbers Union, was named chairman. Since that moment, the Teamsters lawyer has been in dissent, and Schmidt and O'Donoghue, acting as a majority, have demanded a vigorous cleanup of the union.

With both the Rackets Committee and the Monitors after him,

Hoffa, thus, in 1958, decided to appoint an investigative board of his own. For chairman, he chose George Bender, affable, bumbling, barrell-shaped former Congressman and United States Senator from Ohio.

The technique was not new. When Dave Beck first got in trouble with the Rackets Committee, he hired as legal counsel Former Senator James Duff of Pennsylvania, who, like Bender, was a Republican defeated in the 1956 election. Duff, however, bowed out after short and bitter experience.

It is difficult to discern what Bender did other than ask officers of the nation's most corrupt union whether they themselves were corrupt. But, his services did cost the union \$28,300 in salary and expenses and he informed Hoffa that all was clean in the union.

Not satisfied with the Bender whitewash alone, Hoffa called a March, 1959, union convention to free himself of the court-imposed monitors and also ousted his chief opponent within the Teamsters Union, Thomas L. Hickey, from his \$20,000-a-year job as the union's general organizer in New York.

Hickey, who still is secretary-treasurer of Local 807, the largest Teamsters unit in New York, has fought Hoffa corruption every step of the way, and unsuccessfully ran against Hoffa for the union presidency in 1957. His steadfast fight against racketeers has earned Hic-

key the title of "Honest Tom."

Why do rank-and-file Teamsters not rise up against such high handedness on the part of the Tiny Tyrant who has made their union his private financial domain? There are two major reasons:

First, the union itself is pierced through with corruption and fear from top to bottom. Those union officers and members at all levels who are not part and parcel of Hoffa's reign by hoodlumism dare not speak out for fear of losing their jobs or suffering physical violence.

Secondly, the truck drivers and other workers who make up the union's membership are largely poorly educated individuals whose lives are dominated by the economic struggle for survival.

THE TEAMSTERS UNION generally has raised the economic standards of these individuals. They know, also—as do freight line owners—that Jimmy Hoffa knows the trucking business as well, if not better, than any individual in the United States.

Hoffa, in many ways, is a businessman. He is not a Walter Reuther, obsessed with the need for social change. He is not a George Meany, dedicated to the strength and unity of the trade union movement.

Hoffa, who has used the union to gain monumental power and a huge bankroll, and Dave Beck, who used it to attain a plush life, social

prestige and access to the White House, both operated the Teamsters organization under the same concept: As long as we provide our members with higher wages and other benefits, the union and its funds are ours to use as we see fit.

A majority of the Teamsters themselves—although informed daily via newspapers, radio, television, magazines and newsreels of Hoffa's misdeeds—apparently approve this concept.

THERE ARE SIGNS, however, that the forces of good are at last catching up with the evil that is Hoffa.

George Meany, who led the move to oust the Teamsters from the AFL-CIO, told the parent union's convention last year: "Not a single union that came under the control of this man (Hoffa) that he didn't in some way dip into its treasury and use its money for some purpose other than a trade union purpose. And in using this money there was always some little gimmick there for himself and his hoodlums connected with him."

The period covering December, 1958, and the early days of January, 1959, may, however, have marked the turning point in Hoffa's career. These were the fast-breaking events of those days:

December 9: Two rebel members of the Teamsters Union charged that Federal Judge James C. Connel of Cleveland, who was on the un-

ion's Christmas gift list and allegedly received an expensive champagne bucket, ruled against them in an intra-union case without hearing their side of the argument.

December 10: Hoffa announced in Miami Beach that the Teamsters Union would organize 10 million city, county and state employes, including police and firemen.

December 10: Hoffa announced that Former Senator George Bender had found no taint of corruption in his union.

December 11: Federal Judge F. Dickenson Letts, respected 83-year-old jurist, ruled that the court-appointed monitors possessed the power to clean up the union through the ousting of corrupt officers and the inauguration of new voting and bookkeeping procedures. Judge Letts ordered Hoffa to comply with the Monitors' decisions or possibly face contempt charges. Judge Letts also canceled the March 1959, convention Hoffa had scheduled to rid himself of the monitors.

December 11: Hoffa ordered his attorneys to appeal Judge Letts' ruling, but the lawyers indicated privately they doubted that a higher court would review the ruling.

December 14: Senator John McClellan reported to the press that Bender's services for three and one-half months had cost the union \$28,300.

December 14: Hoffa ordered Thomas L. Hickey removed as general organizer of the Teamsters in

New York and had him replaced by John O'Rourke, who pleaded the Fifth Amendment before the McClellan Committee and who was chosen president of Joint Council 16 in the "paper local" scandal of 1955.

December 18: The Rackets Committee voted to cite William Presser, president of the Ohio Conference of Teamsters and a Hoffa buddy, for contempt of Congress. The Committee asked the Justice Department to determine whether Presser had committed perjury.

December 19: Monitor Godfrey Schmidt said the Teamsters had offered to pay him \$155,000 it owes him as a bribe to get off the board.

December 19: Bernard Adelstein, business agent of Teamsters Local 813 in New York and New York Garbage King Vincente Squillante, tied closely together in a conspiracy to control the Long Island carting industry, were found guilty of extortion.

DECEMBER 23: The Treasury Department revealed in Washington that it will investigate Hoffa's financial dealings and the Justice Department indicated a federal grand jury will be summoned to investigate political expenditures by the union.

December 27: The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee urged a federal grand jury probe of Hoffa's plan for alliance with other transport unions. The subcommittee report branded the proposed confed-

eration a "definite menace to our national security, both economically and militarily."

December 29: Henry Feinstein, president of Teamster City Employees Local 237, in New York, announced his union would picket police headquarters throughout New York City on January 12 as a first step toward organizing the 24,000 police of the nation's biggest city. He said he would cut off all deliveries of vital supplies—gasoline, fuel oil, food and other facilities—to all police installations in the city.

December 30: Glenn W. Smith, president of the Chattanooga, Tennessee, Teamsters local, testified in federal court that bribery of public officials does not violate his union's constitution or bylaws and actually is not frowned upon by the union.

December 30: New York City Police Commissioner Stephen P. Kennedy angrily attacked the Teamsters' plan to picket police installations and stated: "... if the police are unionized, I advise the people not to waste their money paying the police commissioner a salary. Hoffa would be the police commissioner, so why waste the money."

December 30: Hoffa ordered Feinstein to cancel his plans to cut off supplies to police headquarters, but said he could go ahead with picketing as a means of "advertising" the union's campaign.

December 31: New York City Mayor Robert Wagner, angrily

pounding a table, attacked Feinstein and said he may take disciplinary action against Feinstein, who is on the city payroll.

December 31: Monitors' Chairman Martin F. O'Donoghue said he would order Hoffa to halt the proposed picketing of New York police headquarters. He termed the plan "atrocious."

January 2: Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell said the Teamsters plot to organize the police was strictly "blackmail."

January 3: The New York press reported that Hoffa's plan to organize the police of the Big City was all but in the grave.

DURING THIS PERIOD, other important events were shaping up. Senator Kennedy was drafting a new labor reform bill, similar to last year's Kennedy-Ives Bill.

The new measure, which faced brighter prospects for passage than the 1958 bill, would demand a full accounting of union funds, establish democratic processes in unions, and permit members to elect officers of their own choosing without fear of reprisal. It was designed to topple Hoffa from his throne and prevent the rise of future Hoffas.

Senator McClellan and his chief counsel, Robert F. Kennedy, continued to pursue the Teamsters Union and Jimmy Hoffa through investigative channels.

Crack criminal lawyer Edward Bennett Williams, who has de-

fended Hoffa before both courts and Congress, reportedly had had his fill and was ready to leave Jimmy's employ.

Thus, as 1959 began, the stage was set for a massive collision between Jimmy Hoffa and the American public—the public represented in this instance by Senator McClellan and his Committee, a trio of Kennedys, George Meany, Judge Letts, "Honest Tom" Hickey, the AFL-CIO, Mayor Wagner, the Monitors, the Justice and Treasury Departments, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

There was every indication that Hoffa was frantically on the defensive, if not yet in full retreat. His every action indicated Jimmy was fighting wildly to retain and expand his power at a time when opponents were surrounding him.

Hoffa *was* far from defeated, however.

With sound reform legislation, decisive action by the executive branch of the federal government and the courts, continued public exposure, and pressure from organized labor itself, we have a combination able to turn back Jimmy Hoffa's arrogant bid for conquest of the nation's economy.

There was real hope as the New Year dawned that these combined forces, moved by public ire, might at last accomplish what the 1,600,000 members of the Teamsters Union have been unable or unwilling to achieve.

THE JOB

REUTHER



WANTS

by Harold Lord Varney

WHILE POLITICAL ANALYSTS, who should know better, grind out lengthy columns of speculation about Walter Reuther's White House ambitions, the irrepressible redhead himself is running hard for another goal. Reuther is willing to waive his 1960 chances in favor of Earl Warren whom he has recently nominated for the Presidency.

The job Walter really wants is the presidency of the now disunited AFL-CIO. The fact that George Meany seems to have a lock-tight grip on this post does not deter him. Thanks to the McClellan Committee, Walter's chances are excellent to reach this goal, if not next year, then in the not distant future.

It may seem incongruous to couple the high-minded McClellan Committee with the ambitions of America's most dangerous Left Wing labor leader, but the connection is inescapable. The McClellan Commit-

tee, with the most laudable motives, has focused national attention upon corruption as the No. 1 trade union problem. In doing so, it has relegated the danger of union capture by the Left to secondary importance. Such a re-emphasis of values has played directly into the hands of the Reuther ambitions.

While the McClellan Committee proceeds with its work of knocking off conservative, anti-Reuther unions, the Left steadily advances. The fact that George Meany—certainly no friend of the Left—felt it necessary to threaten the formation of an independent labor party, in his speech of December 10 before the New York State central body, shows plainly his fear of being run over by the Reuther bandwagon.

If Reuther achieves his ambition, the old dream of Gene Debs, of Max S. Hayes and of John H. Walker of

an anti-capitalist American trade union movement will at last be well on the way to realization.

To make the tangled AFL-CIO situation clearer to the reader, a brief backward glance at what has been happening in the House of Labor since the labor merger will be enlightening.

When, in 1955, the Reuther-led CIO lured the AFL into a marriage of convenience, many sound-thinking AFL leaders had serious misgivings. It was the CIO, not the AFL, which had most to gain from such a merger. Experienced unionists entertained grave doubts that Meany and his cohorts could succeed in keeping Reuther in line once he was inside the AFL net.

THERE WERE valid reasons for such apprehension.

Before the merger, the balance of power in the American unions had always been safely held by conservative unionists. Because this was true, the United States had escaped the European fate of a Socialist or Communist trade union movement. The American unions, in the face of more than eighty years of continuous Socialist effort, had persisted in a free enterprise position.

One of the strongest defenses of the capitalist system ever enunciated was the historic AFL "Industry's Manifest Duty" adopted by the 1935 AFL convention. Sharp differences might exist between the AFL and

the general American community over issues of wage rates and collective bargaining. But the AFL and the nation stood as one on the issue of free enterprise. When other conservative groups wavered, it was the AFL in 1933 which led the protest against Franklin D. Roosevelt's suicidal recognition of Soviet Russia.

The split-off of the CIO unions from the AFL in 1935 resulted largely from the itch of the AFL Left to engage in offensive anti-capitalist action. Reuther's career as a trade unionist stems directly from this schism.

Within the AFL, the anchor of conservatism has always been the powerful building trades unions and the teamsters. No Socialist move could hope to get out of a convention committee against the opposition of these dominating large unions.

The degree of conservatism in this building trades-teamster bloc may be measured in political terms. Although the AFL predominantly, and the CIO unanimously were Democratic in Presidential elections, international presidents of these unions frequently had the independence to give open support to the Republican Party.

Presidents Hutcheson of the Carpenters, Coffield of the Plumbers, Lindeloff of the Painters, McGowan of the Boilermakers, O'Connor of the Longshoremen, Beck and Hoffa of the Teamsters at various times

publicly supported Republican presidential candidates. Richard J. Gray, president of the Building Trades Department, publicly supported President Eisenhower in both of his races. As long as this conservative bloc held the balance of power, America's trade union movement seemed securely on the conservative side.

The first serious jolt to this balance came in 1955 when the CIO unions, then in sharp decline, were readmitted to a new AFL-CIO body. Meany, himself a building trades unionist, supported this move—the first of his major mistakes. After the merger, the building trades unions plus the teamsters still held a narrow control. But the CIO unions and the unpredictable unions of the old AFL such as the Machinists and the railway crafts were an uncomfortable and persistent threat.

THE INITIAL MISTAKE, after the merger, was to permit Reuther to keep his CIO unions intact by granting him an Industrial Department, with himself as president. The Department comprised 7,000,000 members, with CIO groups outnumbering AFL units in a ratio of two to one. This Department, by preserving old jurisdictional lines, discouraged the integration of the unions from both bodies. Had this integration proceeded uninterruptably, many of the CIO unions would have simply disappeared—

absorbed into the larger AFL internationals.

But the Department had a further priceless value to Reuther. It gave him a private pulpit from which he could release publicity and enunciate AFL-CIO policies in his own name. As time passed, the Department became an organization within an organization: a busy center of Reuther personal intrigue within the Federation.

Reuther began to move in on other AFL-CIO activities. His most flagrant performance was in the field of international labor. One of the most effective anti-Communist agencies of the old AFL had been the old International Affairs Department. In the pre-merger days, the CIO maintained its own rival international committee headed by Walter's brother, Victor Reuther. The spearhead of AFL efforts abroad was the Free Trade Union Committee.

Disregarding the International Affairs Department, Walter has insisted upon pursuing a separate and personalized course in international affairs. His Industrial Union Department inaugurated the policy of making independent contributions to labor groups overseas. His foreign policy pronouncements were insolently at variance with the official position of the AFL-CIO. When President Meany issued a statement denouncing Nehru support of Soviet Russia, in world affairs, Reuther came to the defense of

Nehru and made a heavily publicized trip to India, where he delivered 118 speeches repudiating the Meany position.

To add insult to injury, Reuther staged a Voice of America interview, disagreeing with Meany, which was beamed to India. It is increasingly obvious that Reuther and his brother, who is still on the payroll, intend to maintain an international position nearer to that of the "appease Russia" Left Liberals, than to the all-out anti-Communist position of Meany.

THE PATTERN of Reuther strategy is also becoming apparent in the touchiest field of all—the field of union jurisdiction. Since the merger, three years ago, literally nothing has been done about the consolidation of unions where the AFL and CIO maintained competing unions in the same craft.

The farcical situation has persisted of two electrical workers unions (IBEW and IUE), two metal and machinery workers unions (IAM and UAW), two streetcar workers unions (AASRWU and TWU) etc. Only a few of the smaller unions have merged.

Into this delicate situation Reuther has barged with a demand that the 18 building trades unions and the 20 metal trades unions be forbidden to organize workers in large scale industries whose unions are members of his Industrial Department. The former AFL unions have

enjoyed such jurisdiction for over half a century. In most of the plants organized by Reuther's UAW or David J. McDonald's USW, separate contracts with AFL unions covering building and maintenance workers have always been in effect.

The Reuther demand is plainly a gambit in his long-range play to reduce the importance of the building trades unions and to aggrandize the power of his Industrial Department. If he prevails, the building trades unions and their allies, the metal trades unions, will find themselves relegated to a secondary status in the AFL-CIO.

But it is through a shrewd exploitation of the so-called ethical practices issue that Reuther has made prodigious strides toward his power goals during the last three years.

No one will deny that the unions, both AFL and CIO, were due for a drastic clean-up when the McClellan Committee commenced its labors. The unfortunate by-product has been that the McClellan inquiry, despite all its excellent work, has played directly into the hands of Reuther and his faction in the power struggle which is raging within the AFL-CIO. Reuther has had only to sit back and guide the investigations into anti-Reuther union channels. Through the votes which he controls on the Executive Council, he has effectively tied George Meany's hands in dealing with the accused unions. Meany has found himself

driven to the extreme expulsion position toward such unions as the Teamsters, under fear of being accused of lukewarmness.

Of course, the issue has at no time been presented in this precise form. The result of the inquiry, however, has been to put a new and deadly weapon into Reuther's hands to use against his conservative union rivals.

For the sake of the record, it should be pointed out that the McClellan Committee had no monopoly of the ethical practices issue. The AFL had been committed to the union clean-up position since the days of President William Green. Meany inherited the program when he became President, and he early took a strong personal position against the "shakedown" fringe in the trade union movement.

WHETHER REUTHER has a secret understanding with Robert F. Kennedy, counsel for the McClellan Committee, motivated by John F. Kennedy's 1960 White House ambitions, is an unresolved question. Such an understanding seems plausible in view of Kennedy's kid glove treatment of Reuther when he appeared before the Committee to answer for his Kohler Strike mispractices in March, 1958.

What is undeniable is that the McClellan Committee has served Reuther's long-range trade union objectives as certainly as if it had been planned.

The 40 trade union officials whose misdeeds were spotlighted in the 200,000 word interim report of the Committee were all members of five anti-Reuther internationals. Although witnesses were ready to submit evidence to the McClellan Committee exposing corruption in Reuther's own UAW, General Counsel Kennedy never seemed to find time to look into these important investigation leads. When Emil Mazey, secretary treasurer of the UAW and a life-long Socialist, blurted out an attack on the Catholic clergy, the Committee staff allowed him to get off the hook without serious cross-examination. Moreover, a plan, to which McClellan himself unwisely agreed, to allow Reuther to open the Kohler Case hearings and thus seize the accusing position was blocked only by some quick footwork by Senators Goldwater and Mundt, but Reuther was allowed to use the committee hearing room for a press conference to abuse Senator Goldwater. When he finally made his appearance in the witness box, Kennedy gave Reuther the VIP treatment, in sharp contrast with the preceding attitude toward Beck, Hoffa, Cross and other union presidents.

The net result of the committee activities was to establish a stereotype of Reuther in the public mind as a "good" labor leader in contrast to the "bad" leaders who had preceded him. While other union presidents were being besmirched by ex-

posture of dishonest spots in their internationals, the Committee refrained from pursuing such inquiries about some of the wrongies in the UAW. When one of the committee investigators, taking his role seriously, began to delve too closely into Reuther affairs, a great hullabaloo was raised by pro-Reuther Committee elements about "persecution" and the unhappy investigator was halted.

If the committee's course appears to have been suspiciously selective, the Meany follow-up was shortsighted, to say the least. In an understandable effort to get the AFL-CIO off the corruption spot, the Executive Council, under Meany's insistence, proceeded to expel from the AFL-CIO the following unions, representing 1,687,000 per capita Convention votes:

Teamsters	1,400,000
Longshoremen	70,000
Bakers	142,000
Laundry Workers	75,000

All, it will be observed, were in the anti-Reuther corner. Indefensible as the record of many of their officials may have been, they were unions that would have voted with Meany against Leftism on any important test of strength.

Not content with this action, the Executive Council, with Reuther enthusiastically backstopping Meany, next moved in on the Carpenters Union, which, with its 800,000 members, is the bulwark of conservatism in the Federation. On

August 21, 1958, Meany blew the whistle on Maurice Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters, who had come under charges in connection with an alleged highway fraud case in Indiana, a private transaction unconnected with his union. The reply of the Carpenters Union at its ensuing convention was to back its president and vote to withdraw from the AFL-CIO—the second time in two years that it had taken this action. If Hutcheson goes through with this withdrawal, the conservative union strength which will be outside the AFL-CIO will aggregate 2,487,000 members.

CURRENTLY DANGLING in the balance are the Operating Engineers, also pinpointed by the McClellan Committee, with 100,000 additional members.

Now in recounting these expulsions and suspicions, there is no suggestion that punitive AFL-CIO action was not called for on the part of the Federation. Such unions as the Teamsters had outraged the conscience of the nation. They had brought trade unionism into disrepute.

But it would have seemed that some other method of punishment would have been available to Meany and the Executive Council short of erasing their voting power in the AFL-CIO. Expulsion, under any circumstances, is a dubious penalty since it places the expelled union beyond the reach of further

negotiation and suasion. Unfortunately Meany, who has rare talents as a negotiator, never actually had a free hand in dealing with the accused unions. He felt the hot breath of Reuther and his faction on his neck throughout the inquiry. Today, he finds himself in the grim position of facing Reuther in the AFL-CIO minus almost two and a half million former supporting votes.

If anyone expects that Walter Reuther will not shrewdly follow up the advantage which this surgical operation upon the trade union right has given him, he is underestimating his man. Reuther is flushed with the thumping political victory he won in November in the Mid-West States. With his ally, McDonald of the Steelworkers, he is on his way to smash 100,000 building trades union contracts in the large industry field, and to make his Industrial Department the

dominating agency in the AFL-CIO.

What Reuther has in mind for the labor movement, if he ever reaches the pinnacle, was pointed out by him in his interview with the *London Sunday Times*, June 22, 1958. He said:

I think there is developing an ideology. I agree that the original labor movement was basically pure and simple trade unionism. . . . But the labor movement cannot carry out its historic mission if it continues to be no more than that. As the problems of our modern society become more complex and interwoven, their solution cannot be economic or political—the solution has got to be economic and political.

This, of course, is characteristic Reuther doubletalk, apparently stating that his goal is a Socialist society. The events of the last three years have advanced Walter rapidly on his march toward that destination.

DAR Conducts Constitution Contest for Collegians

The National Society Daughters of the American Revolution will hold its 68th Continental Congress in Washington, D. C., April 20th through 24th.

One of the outstanding features of this Congress will be the national Radio-TV script writing contest for undergraduates of accredited colleges and universities throughout the United States.

The theme of the contest is "The Blessings of Liberty," and all scripts must deal with some phase of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Two scripts, one for radio and one for television, will be chosen on the basis of understanding the Constitution, patriotic content, originality, and dramatic and popular appeal.

Awards will be made in Constitution Hall during the DAR Congress. Mrs. George C. Estill, National Chairman of the Radio and Television Committee of the DAR, Washington, D. C., is in charge of the contest.

CLEAR IT WITH

Is a Labor government in 1960 inevitable?

by Willard Edwards

THE FRESHMAN congressman remarked, despairingly, "I never knew what I let myself in for when I accepted labor's support. I don't know whether I can take it for two years. If they don't get off my neck, I'll never run for Congress again."

The speaker was young, intelligent, ambitious. In his first venture into politics last November, as Democratic candidate for the House of Representatives in a populous eastern state, he had scored an upset in defeating a veteran Republican incumbent.

His district, a suburban area adjacent to a large city, contained no large industries. But organized labor had contributed heavily to his candidacy because his Republican opponent had publicly espoused "right to work" laws and had oth-

erwise shown an "anti-labor" attitude. There was general agreement that the money, propaganda, and paid workers thrown into the district by the Committee on Political Education (COPE), electioneering arm of the AFL-CIO, had been responsible for the results on election day. Scores of similar surprises were registered from coast to coast.

The victor had paid graceful tribute to this support in his post-election statement, promising to lend a sympathetic ear to labor's problems. Sublimely ignorant that something more practical and substantial might be expected, he turned his attention happily to organizing an office force equipped to deal with the special problems of his constituency.

Shortly thereafter, an affable

representative of COPE presented himself and offered to assist the congressman-elect in his hiring problems.

"Your administrative assistant will be the most important man in your office, next to yourself," he was informed, truthfully. "Your future career will depend to a great degree on his skill and efficiency. We are interested in your future and can help you to select the proper man, with the proper attitude, who will organize a smooth-working staff."

The new congressman already had picked his number one assistant, a friend, a young lawyer, with a sound political background. The labor representative shook his head sadly when informed of this selection.

"This man of yours said, only six months ago, that the wage spiral was contributing to inflation," he remarked. "He does not recognize that inflation is a Republican bugaboo, that it is inevitable in this nation's dynamic economy, and that rising costs hurt no one as long as personal income rises at a greater rate. Anyone with his views would be a pernicious influence on your whole staff. Don't you agree?"

The young congressman protested feebly but eventually agreed to discard his original choice and appoint a former union organizer as his chief assistant. This individual took over the hiring of the office staff, carefully examining

each job applicant, including clerks and typists, on his labor attitude.

"I've lost control of my own office force," the freshman legislator remarked, bitterly, to an intimate. "I've kicked myself for permitting it, but I couldn't forget that I'd never have got to Congress without labor's money and organization. Now, I'm beginning to wonder how far the pay-off will extend and whether it's worth it."

THIS INCIDENT is not an isolated one. All over Capitol Hill, in the months since election of the 86th Congress with its overwhelming Democratic-socialist-labor majorities, new members of Congress in both Senate and House are discovering the price they must pay for labor's support.

Reports of labor's patronage take-over came first from a group of career workers in congressional offices. These men and women, skilled in dealing with problems peculiar to the legislative branch, have never, in past years, been disturbed by election returns which frequently removed their employers from office. Equally valuable to Republican or Democratic legislator, they always found ready employment in each new congress. Their party affiliations and political opinions had never previously been questioned when their qualifications were under consideration.

These workers reported a phenomenon. When they interviewed

a congressman-elect, seeking employment, there was usually present a third party, silent but interested, who took notes and whispered suggestions to the employing legislator. Word quickly spread that this was the "labor man" and it was obvious that he inspired a number of questions new to congressional office workers.

"Your former employer, Congressman X, held anti-labor views," a job applicant would be informed. "Did you endorse them? What is your position on the Taft-Hartley act, on so-called right-to-work laws, on the Kennedy-Ives amendments?"

If the answers by bewildered applicants did not satisfy the "labor man," the career workers discovered, letters of commendation for years of previous service, from either Democratic or Republican legislators, were valueless. A number of veteran staff workers, despite their high professional capacities, found themselves unable to survive the examination.

There were mutterings of discontent. The young congressman, quoted above, threatened, darkly, to take the house floor some day and reveal his experiences. But it is a mournful duty to record that he is representative of an exceedingly small minority and the odds are high against this lone fighter staging a rebellion. The comforts of his office, with its \$22,500 salary, its prestige, its junkets to foreign lands

at public expense, its social prerogatives for wife and family, can be expected to soften his resentment. Like all of his colleagues, he will want more of the same and is acutely aware that a public attack on labor's dictatorship would almost certainly end his political career.

SOME REALISTS among the newcomers needed no coercion from labor to put their offices on a sound footing. Freshman Representative Gerald T. Flynn, Wisconsin Democrat, delayed scarcely at all to pay off his principal election debt.

He appointed as his administrative assistant one Samuel Rizzo, international representative of the AFL-CIO United Auto Workers and chairman of the UAW mid-western foundry subcouncil. Rizzo took the job with a special dispensation from President Walter Reuther of the UAW who granted him a leave of office, obviously on the theory that Rizzo would be more useful calling signals in Washington than in Wisconsin. Flynn installed another union man as secretary in his home office in Racine, Wisconsin. He could do no less in return for the funds and organization which enabled him to take the seat long held by a veteran Republican of ultraconservative views.

At least one other newly elected Democratic congressman made no secret of his gratitude to labor. Rep.

Walter H. Moeller of Ohio announced the employment of union staff assistants after COPE helped him unseat an "anti-labor" representative.

LABOR MOVED to control Capitol Hill much as it would operate to organize workers in an industry. But picket lines were found unnecessary. Senators and representatives, owing their political lives to the AFL-CIO, demonstrated an eagerness to insure long tenure by following the wishes of the labor barons. "Clear it with COPE" is now the whispered symbol of political obeisance to labor, 15 years after Franklin D. Roosevelt's celebrated injunction to "Clear it with Sidney" (Hillman) when that worthy was head of the communist-dominated CIO Political Action Committee. Hillman cleared Harry Truman's way to the Vice-Presidency and the White House. Equally momentous consequences may flow from labor's command of overwhelming voting power in both houses of Congress today.

There is no mystery about the staggering extent of that control. COPE has publicly identified those members of Congress it rates as "pro-labor" and "anti-labor." A voting record in support of selected key issues more than 50 per cent of the time is essential to gain the stamp of approval, but most of those thus listed line up in accord

with AFL-CIO programs more than 80 per cent of the time. A substantial number have perfect voting records of 100 per cent.

On the basis of these ratings and officially reported contributions to the political campaigns of newly-elected members, the labor bloc in the 86th Congress can muster a solid majority in both houses.

In the Senate, no less than 66 of 98 members, an amazing two-thirds majority, can be depended upon to obey labor dictates much of the time. A simple majority is 50.

In the House, a minimum of 237 representatives have the pro-labor brand. A simple majority is 219.

For would-be rebels, the penalty of the anti-labor stigma was made abundantly clear in the November elections. Forty-eight newcomers to the House, supported by labor were elected. Only 11 first-term aspirants, opposed by labor, overcame this handicap and were elected.

The position of 21 first-termers is unknown since they were neither opposed nor supported by labor. At least half of them may be expected to succumb to the popular tide, swelling the potential total of labor votes in the house to 247.

Of 204 House incumbents, supported by labor for re-election, 189 were returned to office, more than 92 per cent. Of 187 incumbents opposed by labor, 166 retained their seats but 21 went down to defeat, despite laudable past records, almost solely because they clung to

independence of labor's dictates.

COPE rated 56 senators in the last Congress as pro-labor, the remaining 40 casting votes distasteful to the AFL-CIO more than 50 per cent of the time. COPE came out of the elections with 66 labor backed senators, a gain of 10, while its alleged foes were reduced to 32. The Senate labor bloc thus has the two-thirds majority necessary to pass a bill over a presidential veto.

Twelve Democratic senators, including three presidential hopefuls, Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, and Stuart Symington of Missouri, boast a record of perfect obedience to labor's commands. They have voted in accord with the AFL-CIO on every issue.

THE COST OF attaining this dominance in the national legislature was not excessive by labor standards, although it would be taxing to the resources of most political organizations. In the recent elections, COPE and other labor organizations spent an estimated minimum of \$5,000,000 in support of congressional candidates. When concealed aid, in the form of paid precinct workers, poll watchers and "educational" propaganda is included, the figure could well be doubled.

To the labor barons, this spending was paltry. Revenue of labor unions climbed from \$458,000,000 in 1955 to \$620,000,000 in 1957, of

which \$254,000,000 went to the AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington. President George Meany and his sidekick, Reuther, run this vast business from a four-million dollar palace across from the White House.

Eight other huge office buildings, devoted to union operations, including the five-million dollar marble-faced structure adjacent to Capitol Hill which houses the corruption-ridden Teamsters Union of Jimmy Hoffa, now occupy choice locations in Washington. Members of Congress see these evidences of labor's wealth and might whichever way they turn.

A basic reason for labor's tightened grip on Congress this year is the strong popular demand for legislation designed to eliminate gangsterism, graft, embezzlement and violence from union operations. Skillful lobbying and parliamentary stalling killed labor reform bills last year, but labor bosses and congressional leaders alike realize that some form of face-saving legislation must be passed this year to appease national resentment aroused by the McClellan committee's revelations of union racketeering.

The labor bloc strategy is to produce a measure, purporting to clean up union finances, while defeating all amendments tending to lessen the power of the bosses. It must stifle such proposals as that by Senator Karl Mundt, South Dakota

Republican, to strip labor organizations participating in political campaigns of their tax-exempt status.

Mundt cited a \$25,000 contribution by Reuther's UAW to Americans for Democratic Action, a Left-Wing organization. This money, he noted, was taken from the union's check-off dues, paid by the rank and file, and was used to support an odorous organization whose activities were unquestionably opposed to the political beliefs of many union members. This came close to the taxation without representation against which our forefathers rebelled, he remarked.

Another measure, menacing to labor's ambitions, has been proposed by Representative Alvin M. Bentley, Michigan Republican, who wants to establish a federal labor commission to regulate the expansion of labor unions in the same manner that the federal trade commission controls expansions in business and industry.

Such a commission could stop a Hoffa from attempting to pin a Teamster's union button on every law enforcement agent in the country. Hoffa, under pressure, withdrew his attempt to unionize the New York police force but none thinks this effort will not be renewed.

It could also prevent an alliance of transport unions, dominated by racketeers and communists, now reported in secret negotiation between Hoffa's teamsters' union,

the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union headed by Harry Bridges, the International Longshoremen's Association and the National Maritime Union. A recent report by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee called this potential "merger of the organizational skill and brutality characteristic of both communism and gangsterism" a threat to the military and economic security of the nation.

IN ADDITION to fighting legislation designed to trim its powers, labor is pushing a strong program for strengthening its position and shaping the national economy to its ends. It was entirely appropriate that Meany should announce a ten-point legislative goal for the 86th Congress just 24 hours before Senate Democratic Majority leader, Lyndon Johnson of Texas, revealed his party's plans for the congressional session. Meany and his associates will dictate the course of Congress through influences as potent as any the Democratic leadership possesses.

The two programs were, of course, almost identical in many phases, involving greatly increased spending, continuing deficits, credit expansion, inflation, and new federal intervention in the economy. Meany called for public works, loans, housing, broadened civil rights legislation, aid to education, hospital-medical coverage for social security recipients, higher unem-

ployment benefits, farm legislation, improved military defenses, and a rise in the minimum wage from \$1 to \$1.25 an hour.

Increase of unemployment benefits was tucked away modestly in this list but it rates a high priority in the labor program. Every dollar drawn from the taxpayer for jobless pay lightens the drain on union treasuries during strikes. And strikes are almost certain in this uneasy year, when—according to Labor Department figures—155 contracts covering more than 3,000,000 workers will expire. The key to labor-management relations is the expiration of the steel industry's contract with about 500,000 United Steel workers which runs out in June.

THE UNION is drawing up a weighty set of demands, pushing for the first big industry breakthrough in the 40 hour week and asking for more than the 10 cents an hour pattern established in the 1958 recession year. Experienced observers doubt that a settlement will be reached without a strike.

Exhilarated by its success in defeating right-to-work laws in five of six states last November, labor will also press for revision of the Taft-Hartley Act and repeal of that section which permits states to enact such laws. Such action by Congress would automatically remove the bans on compulsory unionism from the statute books of 19 states.

Meany was so flushed by victory after the elections that he incautiously threatened to establish a third political party, if necessary.

"I have always said," he remarked, "that we don't want our own political party but if we have to do that to lick the people who want to drag us back to the past, we will start our own political party and do a good job of it."

Both Reuther and Joseph Beirns of the communications workers, vice-presidents of the AFL-CIO labor combine, shushed Meany for this "mistaken militancy." Unions, they said, were committed to work within the two-party system. Since 95 per cent or more of labor's support has been given to Democratic candidates, this was taken to mean that when the unions can control congress from inside the Democratic party, there was simply no sense in setting up a separate Labor party.

Arthur J. Goldberg, special counsel of the AFL-CIO, rejected the proposal of Sen. Barry Goldwater, Arizona Republican, that it would be a good idea if both the unions and business withdrew from political activity before the country was wrecked in a power struggle.

The unions, it was made clear, knew when they were well off and had no intention of isolating themselves in a third party where their candidates would be stripped of the convenient Democratic label. But honesty and accuracy, some observers have commented, might well

require a change in the name of the Democratic party to Socialist Labor party.

Labor's tightening of the reins on Capitol Hill is preparatory to the assumption of a dominant role in the 1960 presidential campaigns. Its choices for the candidates of both major parties have been made evident.

On the Republican side, Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York has been given the accolade by Meany as "a dedicated, aggressive liberal." Reuther likes Chief Justice Earl Warren as a Republican presidential candidate, acceptable to labor. Reuther undoubtedly recalls Harry Truman's description of Warren as "really a Democrat who doesn't know it."

Vice-President Richard M. Nixon is, naturally, a hated foe in labor's book, having indicated some strong leanings toward traditional constitutional principles in the past.

In the wide open Democratic race, Meany and Reuther would accept almost any of the candidates. The 100 per cent pro-labor voting records of Kennedy, Symington and Humphrey have been noted. Meyner of New Jersey and Williams of Michigan are in labor's hip pocket. No aspirant, without AFL-CIO backing, stands a chance.

If the Republican convention picks Rockefeller to oppose any of these men, COPE can relax in 1960, assured that the long-sought goal of a Labor government is about to be attained.

Fire Fighters

The Municipal Council of Ku-ring-gal, Australia, asking for funds for a new fire engine, noted, "Our old fire engine is so beat up that sometimes only reverse gear is working. Often it has to be driven to fires backwards."

Volunteer fireman, Friedrich Preiner, of Austria, who admitted setting fire to 26 houses, explained: "Alcoholic drinks were always distributed free to the fire brigade at the scene."

When a man and his wife both passed away they took different routes to their destiny. When the wife got to heaven she immediately called her husband on the telephone. "How do you like it down there?" she asked.

"Fine", was the husband's reply, "all we have to do is wear a red suit with horns and every now and then shovel some coal on the fire. We don't work more than two hours a day. Tell me how is it up there."

"My goodness," said the wife. "We have to get up at four in the morning and gather in the stars, then we have to haul in the moon and hang out the sun. Then we have to roll the clouds around all day long."

"How come you have to work so hard," asked the husband.

"Well, to tell you the truth," said the wife, "we're short of help up here."

RACKETEER AND COMMUNIST DOMINATED UNIONS

REPORTS have reached the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee respecting the establishment of an alliance of several unions in the transportation field.

Involved are the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, a nationwide organization, headed by James R. Hoffa; the International Longshoremen's Association, an east coast organization, headed by Capt. William V. Bradley; the National Maritime Union, an east coast organization, headed by Joseph Curran; and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, a west coast organization, headed by Harry Bridges. Robert F. Kennedy, chief counsel of the Senate Rackets Committee, has referred to this move, in a published article, as a "planned alliance," many of the leaders of which are "tainted by corruption or gangsterism and a few by communism."

This memorandum will seek to determine the extent to which this monopolistic alliance endangers our national security in a period of national emergency which President Eisenhower has described as the Soviet "threat to our safety" which has become increasingly serious as their "expansionist aim has been reinforced by an advancing industrial, military, and scientific estab-

lishment." Since these words were uttered, this threat became so acute as to require the actual deployment of American land and naval forces in the Middle East and in the Far East. The danger of war cannot be disregarded.

Developments in the transportation industry vitally involve the actual or potential effectiveness of our Armed Forces. As General Eisenhower once said, "You will not find it difficult to prove that battles, campaigns, and even wars have been won or lost primarily because of logistics." The unions mentioned above control transportation across the length and breadth of the United States from coast to coast, reaching all the way to Hawaii and Canada.

THE LINKS IN THE CHAIN

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is not in a position to reveal the full nature of the negotiations and understandings arrived at by the parties concerned in this interunion alliance because they have been shrouded in secrecy and because witnesses have refused to divulge information to congressional committees. A chronology of available information is, however, highly impressive, including events that led up to the alliance.

THE CHRONOLOGY may well begin with an account of meetings of the Organizational Commission of the New York State Communist Party, held in 1945. This was immediately after the close of World War II, and after the Communist Party, following the removal of Earl Browder as its general secretary, had returned to its militant, anti-American line. The story of Communist designs in the transport field was told by John Lautner, former head of the New York State Control (or disciplinary) Commission of the Communist Party, in testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on June 21, 1956. One implication of this testimony is that the Communists through their activity in the various transportation unions constitute the amalgam which draws these organizations together into a working alliance.

Mr. LAUTNER.* * * Right after the reconstruction of the Communist Party in 1945, a three-prong program was developed. This program revolved around the reorganization of the Communist Party in New York State, the reindoctrination of the party membership away from the policies of Earl Browder. And the three prong was the institution of a concentration policy for New York State. The major concentration activity was transport; and I don't mean subway riding or riding on the bus, but transportation, the waterfront, the railway terminals in New York, and long-

shore. And there was a divisional industrial-concentration activity delegated to the county organization as such, but there were a number of concentration organizations that were supervised directly by the New York State apparatus, by the New York State organization of the Communist Party. Such was the maritime section of the Communist Party, the teamster section of the concentration section of the Communist Party, and the longshore section of the Communist Party. At the head of the maritime section of the Communist Party they had numerous organizers in a short period of time and, finally, George Watt became the party leader on the New York waterfront, pertaining to maritime workers and shipping. The person who was in charge of longshore concentration and under the supervision of the New York State labor commission of the Communist Party, of which I was a member, was a person by the name of * * * George Powers, that is his name. He was in charge of 1947, 1948, and part of 1949, of longshore concentration in New York City * * *. In 1947 a commission was set up, the commission was composed of Jim Tormey, Louis Sass, Leonard Levenson, and myself, to make a survey on the party on what are the concentration points in New York County.

We made a survey of all of the teamster sheds beginning from the Battery all the way up to the Fifties and on the East Side. We made a survey of all the railway terminals * * *. We made a survey of all the railway terminals, like the New

York Central on the west side in the lower Bronx, and all of the ferrying that is being done by railways through the Erie line and the Lackawanna lines into Long Island and into Brooklyn. A complete survey was made in order to allocate party organizations, neighborhood organizations, community organizations, to give a hand to the industrial sections who were doing concentration work, building the party in these particular concentration points * * *.

Sam Madell worked under George Powers in 1947 and he was on the payroll. He was subsidized by the New York State organization of the Communist Party as one of the waterfront organizers for the Communist Party.

* * *

There is one Mitch Baronson, who was the party coordinator of longshore activities in Brooklyn, in Red Hook, or the Brooklyn waterfront. There is another person to get acquainted with. There were a number of concentration branches set up by the Communist Party to cover shape-ups on the New York waterfront to distribute leaflets and sell *Daily Workers* * * *.

ON JULY 12, 1956, when Sam Madell appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee accompanied by a registered agent of the Soviet Union, one Charles Recht, as counsel, Madell invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer the following questions, on which our records in-

dicated that the truth required an affirmative reply:

1. "Have you been a member of the Communist Party?"

2. "Are you presently a Communist?"

3. "Have you ever been the editor of *Shape-Up*, a publication of the Communist Party, waterfront section of New York?"

4. "Have you ever received any money, directly or indirectly, from the Soviet Embassy?"

Abraham J. Bershad also appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 12, 1956. Official Government records show that Bershad had applied for a Coast Guard permit as a longshoreman on October 12, 1953, and that his application was denied on loyalty grounds. The records show that he had been active on the Brooklyn waterfront in 1952 and 1953 and had been in contact with Tony Anastasia, Harry Bridges, Irving Velson, and William Glazier. When questioned by the subcommittee he invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer the following questions:

1. "Do you know Mr. Velson?"

2. "Have you been organizing Brooklyn longshoremen?"

3. At this point the witness was shown a photograph including himself, Irving Velson, and Jeff Kibre. He refused to identify the photograph or the figures in it.

4. "Had (you) been chairman of the Labor Youth League at Ann

Arbor, Michigan, in the 1950's?"

5. "Were you associated with * * * the Ralph Neafus Communist Club in Ann Arbor, Mich., in the year 1948?"

6. "Do you know * * * Glazier?"

7. "Have you done any organizational work for a person named Tony Anastasia?"

8. "Have you applied for registration as a longshoreman with the Waterfront Commission?"

9. "When did you last see Harry Bridges?"

10. "You were a Communist at the University of Michigan; weren't you?"

11. "Are you a Communist now, Mr. Bershad?"

The record clearly indicates that Bershad was a Communist, and a college man who threw in his lot with the longshoremen not to earn a livelihood, but to further Communist Party purposes.

In August 1950, the CIO executive board expelled the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, headed by Harry Bridges, on the ground that "the policies of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program and purposes of the Communist Party rather than the objectives and policies set forth in the CIO constitution." The ILWU was expelled from the CIO along with seven other Communist-controlled unions.

SPEAKING before the plenary session of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., held on September 19, 20, 1950, John Williamson, head of its trade union department, called upon party members to "keep before us as a central objective * * * our trade-union resolution of last March," stating:

Our party must at all times be guided in its trade-union work by the objective of maintaining contact with and influencing the main body of workers in the organized labor movement * * * the main attention of the party must be concentrated on the main body of workers and trade unions * * *.

On November 28, 1950, 800 delegates representing the expelled Communist-controlled organizations in 18 States met in Washington, D. C., to form a "working alliance." The meeting was addressed by Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, who stressed the need of continuing "to work for labor unity." Since that time every effort has been made by Communists as individuals and through their controlled unions to join the mainstream of the labor movement in the AFL-CIO.

The Communist forces in the new transportation union alliance have for years apparently been fully aware of the nature of their present partners.

In 1953, immediately after the ouster of the International Longshoremen's Association from the AFL, the ILA conducted an organizing drive on the east and gulf coasts. During this period a Communist publication known as *The Docker's News* appeared in these areas supporting the drive.

At this point the Communists, through the instrumentality of Bridges' ILWU, intensified their overtures toward the ILA. Irving Charles Velson testified that he had been hired as a representative of the ILWU in New York in September 1954, that he had been "many times" in contact with Thomas (Teddy) Gleason, general organizer of the ILA, as well as Anthony Anastasia, the head of Local 1814, ILA. The *Dispatcher* of September 2, 1955, reported Velson meeting regularly with Gleason. When Mr. Gleason appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee he corroborated Mr. Velson's statement admitting that he had met Velson "in the period from 1955 to the present * * * maybe 30 or 40 times." Gleason, it should be noted, refused on constitutional grounds to testify before the New York State Crime Commission about alleged operation of gambling from the office of his own local. He is alleged to be seeking to gain control of the International Longshoremen's Association.

When Gleason testified before the Senate Internal Security Sub-

committee on July 30, 1957, he admitted having met together with Harry Bridges, Louis Goldblatt of the ILWU, and Captain Bradley of the ILA, when they were all witnesses before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries (Bonner) Committee. Mr. Gleason was asked, "Did Velson help you prepare your statement that you gave to the (Bonner) committee?" He replied, "Well, he did. He did do some of that. But it was our own thoughts. He did not help me alone. But he prepared many releases that day; yes, sir."

The *Dispatcher* (ILWU) of May 14, 1954, page 3, announced that Local 10, ILWU, had adopted a resolution to donate \$1,500 to the ILA Rank and File. Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, was on the platform when the resolution was introduced. According to the ILWU convention proceedings of April 4-8, 1955, interlocking relations were described as follows:

In the spring of the year a delegation from the ILA, Brooklyn division, visited many ILWU locals. They were well received, and, having given the members a firsthand picture of what was going on in the east coast, they wanted support and financial assistance.

JEFF KIBRE, who identified himself as the Washington representative of the ILWU, offered the following corroborative information:

Some years ago, during the winter of 1953 and 1954, when there were a series of strikes in New York involving the International Longshoremen's Association, I was asked by the officers to observe the development, keep in contact with the development, and keep the officers informed what was taking place.

It is known that during the period of 1953-54, Kibre was in contact with Patrick J. Connolly, executive vice president of the ILA, William Bradley, international president, Thomas Gleason, general organizer, Anthony Anastasia, and Fred Fields, president of the New York Council of the ILA, with reference to soliciting financial aid from the ILWU for the ILA. The subcommittee is in possession of photostats of checks of some of these payments.

At this point it might be well to inquire into the background and record of Irving Charles Velson and Jeff Kibre, who seem to have served as spearheads for the ILWU and the Communist Party among the east coast longshoremen in furtherance of the Communist design to penetrate and influence a giant combination controlling the bulk of American labor in the transportation industry.

Irving Charles Velson was born as Irving Charles Shavelson, being the son of Clara Shavelson, a veteran Communist. He has assumed a host of aliases, notably: Charles Wilson, Shavey Wilson, Israel Shavel-

son, Charles Jackson, Irving Belson, and Israel Wilson. He was employed as an apprentice shipfitter at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in 1940, when he was simultaneously military director of the Young Communist League and leader of the Communist-dominated Apprentice Association at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. He was fired by the Navy Yard on January 12, 1940. As Velson put it in his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 12, 1956, he "got in the hair of the officials, the Navy Yard officials."

In September 1943, Velson was fired as president of Local 13 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO, on the ground that he was a Communist.

VELSON was identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party by two former Communists, Louis F. Budenz and Robert Gladnick. Mr. Budenz testified that Velson "communicated with Peters and was under his direction for a period of time." Peters was identified by the witness as the man who—

controlled the underground section of the Communist Party * * * the liaison officer between the Communist international apparatus in this country and the Soviet Secret Police. In other words, he was the channel of clearance for espionage activities.

Mr. Gladnick added some details regarding Velson's activity:

I came to New York, and I contacted Velson * * * he also worked in the Brooklyn Navy Yard * * * and we put out a third edition of this paper (*Shipmates' Voice*) * * * There was also a mobilization of the female members of the Young Communist League in New York, and they also went aboard the various ships and distributed in New York City. This was around Decoration Day of 1934 * * * he was in charge (of the military apparatus of the Young Communist League) under Peters.

THE RECORD shows that Velson was in frequent contact with Roy Hudson, one-time Communist commissar of the maritime industry. Velson's former wife was Ruth Young, a well-known Communist, with whom he had spent some time in Moscow.

Mr. Velson has had an opportunity to appear before both the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Un-American Activities Committee with reference to these allegations. He has resorted to the fifth amendment in refusing to answer the following questions:

1. "Have you ever gone under the name of Charles Wilson, Shavey Wilson?"

2. "Did you know Roy Hudson, J. Peters, Gladnick?"

3. "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"

4. "In the 1930's were you the national military director of the Young Communist League?"

5. "Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were organizing workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard?"

6. "Were you secretary of the American Committee to Survey Trade Union Conditions in Europe, located at 799 Broadway, New York City, which sent a delegation of American trade unionists to the Soviet Union?"

Jeff Kibre, alias Barry Wood, has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by five former members of that organization: Charlotte Darling Adams, Harold J. Ashe, Mrs. Mildred Ashe, Martin Berkeley, and George Oliver Berthelon. When questioned by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on June 21, 1956, Kibre invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer the following questions:

1. "Are you now a member of the Communist Party?"

2. "Have you attended meetings of the Communist Party at which were discussed plans for Communist activity on the waterfront?"

3. "Were you a Communist at that time" (1936, 1937)?

4. "Were you a Communist when you came to Washington to take up your job as a Washington representative of the ILWU?"

5. "Did you use the alias 'Barry Wood' at that time" (1941, 1942)?

ACCORDING to public hearings on a Code of Labor Relations for New York City employees held on March 25 and April 18, 1955, certain Communist elements at that time had penetrated the New York Teamsters Union. Quoting from the testimony of Mr. Eugene Calamari, president of the Sanitationmen's Local 111-A of the Building Service Employees, International Union, in these proceedings:

Mr. CALAMARI. * * * And I charge, gentlemen, that this city of New York, while patting itself on the back for the establishment of the department of labor, is actually allowing this very department to be undermined, as the city, in violation of the preliminary report, and interim order, presently recognizes a union which now uses the services of an accused Communist. This man, Jack Bigel, was refused recognition, together with his United Public Workers Union, by the city of New York in 1949; all New York newspapers carried the story. He, and his union at that time, was expelled from the CIO "for slavish adherence to the Communist line." He was accused before the United States Judiciary Committee, December 14, 1951, as a Communist while with the now-defunct United Public Workers Union. That man, however, is now an active functionary of Local 237 and 831 of the Teamsters in the department of sanitation. This man is fully endorsed by the president of that local union and, the records will show, has initiated, with the cooperation of the

officials of Local 831, the disruptive and wrecking tactics that are fully associated with the Communist line.

Mr. CALAMARI. * * * And here is the salient matter. A New York daily newspaper said the following about a man called Jack Bigel who, in May of 1953, was representing a local union of city employees. The welfare commissioner at that time warned AFL City Employees Local 237 that Bigel be cleared of pro-Communist leanings or fire the paid union organizer. The commissioner said he had issued his ultimatum after the newspaper had exposed Bigel, publicly branded as a Communist, whose former union was ousted from the CIO for "slavish adherence to the Communist line." At that time, too, Henry Feinstein, local president, and John J. Delury, president of a sister Teamster local, promised a thorough probe of Bigel's background and to take proper action if charges were found to be true.

From the CIO came word, too. Morris Iushewitz, secretary-treasurer of New York CIO Council, said to the newspapers, "The AFL is certainly welcome to Bigel. Taking him into a union is like a man voluntarily taking a cancer unto himself. Bigel has never repudiated the charge he is a Communist. It's disgraceful having a man like Bigel organizing City employees." End of quote.

Well, gentlemen, as the past pattern of unwarranted disruptive tactics against the city and other unions by Teamsters Locals 237 and 831 should bear out, this man Jack

Bigel is still a hired functionary of these locals which allegedly represent city employees. He is also a close adviser of the president, the same John J. Delury * * *.

ON JANUARY 19, 1956, Harry Bridges, president, and Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, testified before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and urged a joint termination date on all new contracts on the west, east, and gulf coasts. If this proposal should be effectuated it would make possible a general strike of all American coasts, as part of the proposed transportation alliance.

It should be noted that despite the shocking evidence of corruption and racketeering in the Teamsters Union, brought out before the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field, the ILWU remained hostile to the Senate committee and friendly to the Teamsters Union.

The path to cordial relations between the ILWU and the ILA was paved through an exchange visit by a delegation of ILWU clerks to ILA headquarters in New York, arranged through the good offices of the ever-active "Teddy" Gleason. A pertinent letter from Gleason to William Piercy, secretary of the ILWU Clerks Negotiating Committee, as published in the ILWU *Dispatcher* of June 7, 1957, reads as follows:

Regarding our phone conversation, President Bradley and myself will be glad to assist you. I will meet you and your associates Thursday morning, May 9, at 265 West 14th Street, New York City. Please advise undersigned if this is satisfactory and names and locals of your committee.

The occasion was immediately utilized to browbeat, with the implied threat of west coast cooperative union action, the east coast employers with whom the ILA was then negotiating. The *Dispatcher* declared:

The very first day they were there Gleason took them to a session on a labor relations dispute that the ILA was trying to settle with the New York Shipping Association. When the head of the NYSA, Alexander Chopin, saw the ILWU representatives he said, "What's this? What's going on here?"

"It was pretty clear to me, 'one of the delegates reported,' that the employers were not very comfortable about seeing us back there * * * Chopin was quite surprised * * * he seemed a little shocked to see us." * * *

The west coast clerks emphasized that both Bradley and Gleason kept stressing the whole time that this was an official visit and both ILA leaders said that they were very happy that it was being done in this sort of way. * * *

"They all promised us, Captain Bradley, Gleason and other leaders, that there is a possibility that a committee might visit us on the west coast eventually."

Another link in the developing chain is the fact that the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the National Maritime Union supported the International Longshoremen's Association in NLRB elections held in October 1956.

There are indications that there are economic factors in the transportation industry which favor the formation of some sort of alliance of the unions involved and that these considerations may affect certain unions, shipping firms, and even officials of the Federal Government, although these considerations can by no means obliterate the significance of the fact that Communist-led unions are included in the combination. *The Wall Street Journal* of July 9, 1957, carried the following informative item:

The Federal Labor Department is seeking to bring Government, management, and union representatives into a joint committee as the first step toward eliminating costly maritime labor disputes that in the past have cost the shipping industry staggering losses because of work stoppages.

* * *

The Labor Secretary (James Mitchell) has held conferences in New York with Paul Hall, Seafarer's International Union president, Joseph Curran, National Maritime Union leader, and with Ralph Casey, American Merchant Marine In-

stitute president, and Capt. William V. Bradley, International Longshoremen's Association president.

He will later meet with Harry Bridges, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, in San Francisco, and Paul St. Sure, president, Pacific Maritime Association, representing west coast shipping interests.

ON NOVEMBER 21, 1957, the (Communist) *Daily Worker* carried an announcement of another cordial tie between the ILWU on the west coast and the ILA on the east coast, to wit:

The delegation of top-level leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association to California to study the Pacific coast union's hiring system and contract has returned after a tour, and the first word from its head, Thomas (Teddy) Gleason, ILA organization director, indicated a favorable impression.

It may be surprising to some that despite current blandishments between Harry Bridges and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the latter organization as late as 1956 was fully aware of Bridges' designs on the waterfront and so stated in an editorial appearing in its official organ:

*** When the ILA was exerting its economic weapon in its geographic areas, along comes Harry Bridges on the west coast and—what should have been to the surprise of no one—offers “sympatheti-

cally" to hold a one-day work cessation in his area in order to help the ILA.

* * *

To those of us who know the score of labor relations in the docking industry, and particularly in the ways and means of the west-coast industry, the Bridges action should have been a red flag to employers and labor alike in every labor union in the United States. Bridges is not a man who looks at only the immediate effects of his political, tactical, or economic actions. He has the long view and let no one underestimate him!

* * *

* * * We are witnessing a new step by Bridges—a step that could conceivably lead to his becoming the dominant force in the longshore industry in America with a real stranglehold on both coasts. Those who know Bridges and are familiar with his conduct in the past, which has too often appeared to parallel the party line, know what this could mean. And if any interested observers do any hard thinking, what this means should keep them awake at night.

Nevertheless in 1958 when Hoffa was asked by reporters for his opinion regarding "left winger Harry Bridges" as a participant in his transport unity conference, he is quoted as replying, "Look as far as I know, Bridges has been cleared by the Supreme Court."

When Hoffa appeared before the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and

Management Field on September 16, 1958 he admitted having known Irving Velson for about a year and having had conferences with him. He was asked whether he knew that Velson had been questioned by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on the following points, on all of which he had invoked the fifth amendment:

whether he had been or whether he was presently a member of the Communist Party * * * And whether he was a military director of the Young Communist League * * * whether he was in frequent contact in 1943 and 1944 with Roy Hudson, a top Communist functionary; whether or not he worked in the underground section of the Communist Party with Alexander Stevens, who is also known as J. Peters.

Mr. Hoffa replied, "I don't know anything about it."

WITHIN THE RANKS of the officialdom of the International Longshoremen's Association, there is evidence of a growing respect for the technical accomplishments of the ILWU and a growing tendency to minimize and ignore its Communist ties, which lays a convenient basis for cooperation between the ILA and the ILWU. This is illustrated by the statement of Fred R. Field, president of the New York Port Council of the International Longshoremen's Association, as quoted from the *Worker* of December 1, 1957, page 12:

He (Field) was referring to a trip made by an official ILA delegation to investigate the rotation hiring hall system used successfully by Harry Bridges' International Longshore and Warehouse Workers Union, likewise independent * * *. "I found that those guys, so hated by the Government—I don't hate 'em—have been able to get all those amazing safety codes even from the Federal Government," he told the committee (New York State's Joint Legislative Committee on Labor and Industry.) * * * "Why is it," he wanted to know, "that we who have always been considered loyal Americans can't get codes like that here?" And then repeating with a note of wonder in his voice: "They're tainted with the Red brush and get all those amazing benefits."

IT WILL BE remembered that in 1953 the AFL ousted the International Longshoremen's Association for corrupt practices. At its Second Constitutional Convention the AFL-CIO took similar action against the International Brotherhood of Teamsters with a membership of 1,400,000 at the time. The existence of these two large unaffiliated, independent unions laid the basis for the setting up of the new alliance with which this memorandum deals.

An excerpt from the convention resolutions offers an insight into the nature of the most powerful organization participating in the new alliance:

On September 25, 1957, the executive council of the AFL-CIO, having given full consideration to the report of the ethical practices committee regarding the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, found and concluded that the international brotherhood is dominated, controlled, and substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by corrupt influences, in violation of the constitution of the AFL-CIO. The council, in accordance with the powers vested in it in such cases by article VIII, section 7, of the AFL-CIO constitution, directed the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to correct the abuses set forth in the report of the ethical practices committee, to eliminate corrupt influences from the union, and to remove and bar from any position or office, either appointive or elective in the international union, or any of its subordinate bodies, those who are responsible for these abuses * * *

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters held a convention in the week of September 30, 1957, at Miami Beach * * *

* * * no investigation and no proceedings were begun with respect to officials of the Teamsters Union, including President Dave Beck and Vice Presidents Sidney Brennan and Frank Brewster, who were found by the ethical practices committee to have engaged in corrupt practices.

Other officials of the Teamsters Union who were involved in the matters set forth in the report of the ethical practices committee were not

only retained in office but were promoted. Among these were Vice President James Hoffa, who was found by the ethical practices committee to have engaged in corrupt activities and was elected president of the International Brotherhood

* * *

In accordance with the power vested in it by article VIII, section 7 of the constitution the executive council therefore directs that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America shall stand immediately suspended from the AFL-CIO * * *

HARRY BRIDGES and his group overlooked no forces in the maritime industry essential to their design for a nationwide transportation monopoly. In the winter of 1957, the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission disclosed that Bridges' union had sent a gift of \$3,000 to aid in the formation of an independent union of pier hiring bosses in the port of New York. The commission disclosed that the organizer and business manager of the new union was Edward T. Fitzpatrick, brother-in-law of Albert Ackalitis, a widely feared water-front hoodlum who was ruled off the piers in 1954. The disclosure of Harry Bridges' aid was made in Fitzpatrick's testimony before the commission. Mr. Fitzpatrick met from time to time with Irving Velson. Counsel for Mr. Fitzpatrick was Edward J. Mala-

ment of the firm of Standard, Weisberg, Harolds & Malament. Velson was charged with contempt in a citation before Supreme Court Justice Thomas A. Aurelio for refusing to answer questions before the Waterfront Commission regarding the \$3,000 donation from the ILWU.

Indicating that there are forces within the ILA opposed to Gleason's active maneuvers, the executive council of the ILA, meeting in Miami on February 1, 1958, restated a resolution adopted at the union's Chicago convention in July 1957 to the effect that there would be no negotiations with any other union without the prior approval of the council. Referring to the \$3,000 sent by Bridges to the new union of pier hiring bosses, President William V. Bradley declared, "We resent very much a union sending money to anyone in the port of New York for organizing."

It is necessary at this point to call attention to the law firm of Standard, Weisberg, Harolds & Malament, whose legal advice may be an important factor in the operation under consideration. Regarding William L. Standard, senior member of the firm, testimony of William C. McCuiston, a former Communist and member of the National Maritime Union, and Frederick C. Phillips, a seaman, disclosed the following data:

He was the attorney for the National Maritime Union when it was under Communist domination. He

worked closely with its Communist leaders. He was a member of the waterfront section of the Communist Party. He contributed kick-backs to the Communist Party from industrial accident cases received through the union. He attended the graduation exercises of the marine training school conducted by the Communist Party. He helped to prepare the constitution of the National Maritime Union together with other Communist leaders, in order to insure Communist control of the organization.

STANDARD was a member of the Executive board of the National Lawyers Guild. In its behalf he attended the fourth congress of the Communist-controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers held in Rome in October-November 1949. He has honored or defended the following well-known Communists: Joseph R. Brodsky, Irving Potash, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, John Williamson, and William L. Patterson.

Standard, an authority on maritime law, is the author of *Merchant Seamen*, published by the International Publishers, a Communist publishing house. The book is an apologia for Harry Bridges and Communist policy in the maritime industry.

The *Dispatcher* (ILWU) of January 3, 1958, contains an overall review of the union's activities for 1957. The following excerpts deal

with negotiations and cooperation with other unions in the transportation field:

January 1957 began with the ILWU executive board meeting and looking forward to a year in which this union and the east coast longshoremen could come to closer understanding and working relations. This prediction became a reality as the year went on.

ILWU congratulated the ILA on the east coast for the unity and solidarity demonstrated in the recent strike—a strike which saw, for the first time in the history of waterfront unionism, every longshoreman from Maine to Texas on the bricks with a common set of industrywide demands. * * * ILWU pledged to give every support to the east coast dockers to win conditions and security. * * *

In February the union paid the closest attention to the east coast where 45,000 longshoremen resumed their strike * * * ILWU announced it was this union's policy not to work any ships on the west coast loaded by east coast strikebreakers. * * *

The 12th Biennial ILWU Convention convened in San Francisco in the month of April. 217 delegates representing 55 locals on the mainland, Canada, Alaska, and Hawaii spoke out boldly. * * *

For the first time in the history of the two unions, ILWU representatives, ship clerks from Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, visited and viewed ILA operations on the east coast. The ILWU clerks were cordially received and person-

ally shown around the docks of the Greater New York area by top ILA officials. * * *

In November, a committee of eight representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association, appointed by ILA President Capt. William Bradley, and headed by Thomas W. Gleason, vice president and general organizer, came to the west coast for a historic first "look-see" at ILWU operations on the waterfront * * * In a report to the New York District Council of the ILA, adopted unanimously, Gleason told of ILWU's cooperation during their trip and of their favorable impression of the joint control of hiring by employers and the union with the low-man-out system. Captain Bradley, president of ILA, thanked Gleason and the committee and called for a unanimous vote of thanks.

In December, a further comment on the increased liaison and cooperation between the west and east coasts was seen in the meeting of union representatives of cane sugar refineries from all over the United States which met in New York City. The ILWU was represented, and met with other independents such as ILA. * * *

RESULTING from a trip to the west coast headquarters of the ILWU made in November, 1957 by Thomas (Teddy) Gleason and other ILA officials, a ten-point program for cooperation between the two organizations was recommended by Mr. Gleason to the Miami

meeting of the executive board of the ILA. It read in part:

"We believe there are mutual advantages to our respective memberships, and to the industry in general, in cooperation and consultation between the two unions."

Some of the points were:

"We should immediately start exchanging data on the question of safety."

The West Coast hiring system merits further study, the report noted. It added that "some of these methods properly adapted to our conditions can be effected within the existing legislation and result in hiring returning to control of labor and management where it belongs." The Waterfront Commission now regulates hiring in New York and New Jersey.

"Technical assistance from the coast" should be used for the establishment of a research department and library.

The two unions should work jointly on the problem of "the Army and Navy attempting to perform longshore work with civil service employees and infringing upon the jurisdiction of longshoremen."

"We might as well work together" on a Washington, D. C., office to watch for antilabor bills and to push for beneficial legislation.

"We should explore the possibility of a national agreement with the United Fruit Co." in order to have uniform wage rates and manning on the east, gulf, and Pacific coasts.

"Our visit has shown the need for national bargaining and that full coordination of bargaining demands

is a good sound policy and essential to the well-being of all our members."

James R. Hoffa, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was named to be a guest of honor at the ILA executive board meeting.

The February 14, 1958, issue of the *Dispatcher* (ILWU) announced that an "agreement had been reached between representatives of the ILA and the ILWU for joint legislative action in winning congressional approval for a Federal safety program affecting longshoremen throughout the country." Officials met in Washington, D. C., on January 26-27, 1958. The joint committee was to include Patrick Connelly, executive vice president of the ILA, and Jeff Kibre, who was to be its secretary. Charles Velson attended the conference for the ILWU.

AS ANOTHER STEP in the developing alliance, Irving Velson announced that Harry Bridges had authorized him to say that the west coast counterparts of hiring bosses in New York would not work the ships of any lines engaged in a contract dispute with the hiring boss union.

The Los Angeles press announced that on June 19 and 20, 1958, the policy committee of the national warehouse division of the Teamsters Union was scheduled to hold a meeting at the Statler Hilton

Hotel to discuss the question of a merger between the Teamsters Union and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. A joint announcement regarding the conference was issued by Joseph Dillon, director of the warehouse division of the Western Conference of Teamsters, and Louis Goldblatt, ILWU secretary-treasurer. While the exact nature of the commitments has not yet been publicly disclosed, a participant is quoted as summarizing them as follows:

1. If one union strikes, the other will.
2. Neither union will reach any agreement with an employer unless it is acceptable to the other union.
3. Negotiators for the two unions will coordinate their bargaining strategy against employers.

Another participant was quoted as saying:

This is the beginning for things to come. There will be open cooperation and in time—when, I don't know—a merger.

On the following day Joseph Dillon of the Teamsters hastened to minimize the significance of the proceedings, declaring, "There is no idea of merging unions—it was never discussed. The results of the conference on San Francisco a week ago were specifically an understanding of the warehousing problems in the San Francisco area." Lawrence N. Steinberg, personal representative of Teamster Presi-

dent James R. Hoffa, declared, "Our local unions have the necessary autonomy to enter agreements and organize common fronts with whomever they choose," thus giving official sanction to the proceedings.

The July 4, 1958, issue of the *Dispatcher* (ILWU) hailed the "unity of purpose and common determination of the ILWU and the northern California Teamster warehouse local" in publicizing a joint statement in support of a contract settlement between the ILWU and the Distributors Association of Northern California, calling the settlement "a real victory for all warehouse workers in northern California and on the Pacific coast."

IN JULY 1958, a six-man delegation from the Teamsters Union, including Edward Cheyfitz, a former member of the Communist Party, and presently a member of the law firm of Edward Bennett Williams, attorney for James R. Hoffa, attended a meeting of the International Transport Workers Federation in Amsterdam. In describing this conference, James R. Hoffa declared:

We pledged that America's new Conference on Transportation Unity would be a strong force in this fight for freedom. Assuring powerful anti-Communist strength and leadership in America's transport industry, we promised the ITF that one of our main objectives would

be to lend the free trade unions of the world a helping hand in our ports and on our docks. If Communist unions ever gain the position to exercise influence in the transport lanes of the world, the free world will have suffered a staggering blow * * *. Several months ago, we contributed \$5,000 to the ITF to support a strike of London bus workers.

Writing in the (Communist) *Worker* of August 3, 1958, page 4, William Allan discloses how the Communist-racketeer-controlled transport octopus plans to spread its tentacles to Canada and the St. Lawrence seaway:

Reports have it that an organizing meeting of Canadian and American unionists will soon be held jointly, in Windsor, Canada, on the Detroit River, which separates the United States and Canada, to map the beginning of a huge union drive, set to go fall and winter, to prepare for the opening of the St. Lawrence seaway in 1959 * * *

Thousands of new members that James Hoffa hopes to get into the Teamsters, including dockers, seamen, clerks * * * will get jobs on the St. Lawrence seaway.

Heading the drive will be Hoffa, president of the teamsters Union, in conjunction with * * * Joe Curran, NMU; William Bradley, of the Longshoremen's union * * *

Shippers in 16 States will get their freight through the port of Detroit, from which flow out 11 main railroad lines, 122 common motor carriers, and 61 local cartage

companies. Currently 27 foreign steamship lines under ten foreign flags service the port of Detroit.

The Communists have taken pains to demonstrate to James R. Hoffa how far-reaching can be their influence, and that it pays to play ball with them. In the course of a hearing held on September 18, 1958, before the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, Richard Pastor, editor of Local 1-S of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (AFL-CIO) was heard. He took the fifth amendment with regard to questions about his past or present membership in the Communist Party. Information had reached the committee that at the inspiration of Irving Velson, a phone call had been made by Pastor to Miss Katherine Barry, a Macy department store employee and a member of the jury which had handled a wire-tap indictment against Hoffa early in 1957. Miss Barry is alleged to have told the judge that she had been contacted by the editor of a labor paper, and was dropped from the jury. When Pastor was asked whether he had phoned Miss Barry at Velson's request, he refused to answer.

HOFFA himself, in a publication of the Teamsters Union, gives an inkling of negotiations being carried on, as follows:

We have met with representatives of the AFL-CIO Maritime Division jointly with the Seafarers Interna-

tional Union and the International Longshoremen's Association, to work out our mutual problems on the docks of the eastern and southern coasts. We have helped other international unions in countless strike and organizing situations in the past few months.

On August 1, 1958, the *Dispatcher* (ILWU) carried the following important announcement:

The ILWU on July 23 received and accepted an invitation from James R. Hoffa, general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, to attend a joint meeting of representatives of the Teamsters union, the ILWU, and the ILA. The meeting is scheduled for 2 P.M. on August 14, 1948 [1958?] at the international office of the Teamsters in Washington, D. C.

In his published reply promising to be present "with a small group of ILWU officials," Harry Bridges declared:

The ILWU, along with the Pacific Maritime Association, the ILA, and the New York Shipping Association * * * are committed to Chairman Herbert C. Bonner (of the House Merchant Marine Committee) to work toward a common expiration date for all longshore contracts.

The mutual friendship and co-operation which exists between the Teamsters Union and the ILWU is demonstrated by a recent incident in Honolulu, where Bridges has practically a labor monopoly. Quoting from the *New York Times*:

Mike Singer, Los Angeles Teamster organizer, spent only 12 days in Hawaii, but no labor leader made such an impact on the islands * * *.

Mr. Singer started a picketing campaign against nonunion wholesale meat dealers. When the pickets marched at dockside, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union workers refused to cross the line, thus halting the unloading of a merchantman. * * *

"Hoffa henchmen have entered the scene with threats and bullying," Dwight C. Steel, president of the Employers Council, charged. * * * He charged that Mr. Singer had demanded on-the-spot contracts with employers without waiting for elections endorsed by the National Labor Relations Board. "They scoff at NLRB elections," he said.

The July 3, 1958, issue of the *NMU Pilot* carried the following announcement of the union's meeting with representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the International Association of Longshoremen:

WASHINGTON, July 3.—NMU President Joseph Curran and Secretary-Treasurer John B. McDougall met today with leaders of International Brotherhood of Teamsters and International Association of Longshoremen. The meeting issued a call to all unions in the transportation industry to join in a permanent Conference on Transportation Unity.

The text of the conference call follows:

"In order to resolve to the fullest

possible extent jurisdictional differences, provide mutual assistance, and promote stability in the transportation industry, it is agreed by and between the signatories hereto to the following:

"That each international and national union shall designate three members as its representatives to a continuous and permanent Conference on Transportation Unity for the purpose of discussing and settling jurisdictional disputes, matters of mutual concern, and matters affecting progress and stability in the transportation industry.

"It is the intent and purpose of the signatories hereto that this conference shall be open to all unions in the transportation industry."

International Brotherhood of Teamsters:

JAMES R. HOFFA,

JOHN O'ROURKE.

National Maritime Union:

JOSEPH CURRAN,

JOHN B. McDOUGALL.

International Longshoremen's Association:

CAPT. WM. V. BRADLEY,

PATRICK CONNELLY.

WHILE no documented and detailed statement regarding the terms and nature of the alliance have been made public, some information has reached the press which is quoted in part:

Last week he (Hoffa) worked out a no-raiding pact with Harry Bridges' Longshoremen's Union on the west coast docks * * * Mr. Hoffa in the past has talked of set-

ting up some form of federation in the shipping industry, and Mr. Bridges has encouraged the idea.

Hoffa disclosed he had invited Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union to an August 14 meeting here with leaders of the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association.

In a measure Harry Bridges has revealed the motive behind his ambitious design in an interview which appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Daily News*. "There's one thing I know," he is quoted as saying, "if the Teamsters and the two dock unions got together they'd represent more economic power than the combined AFL-CIO." He added, "They are so concentrated, an economic squeeze and pressure can be exerted that puts any employer in a very tough spot—and furthermore puts the United States Government on a tough spot."

In the face of his dealings with Harry Bridges et al., Mr. Hoffa does not hesitate to criticize the Communists publicly. His signed statement reads:

The position of your officers on the Communist question is well-known. We stand militantly opposed to communism as the most reactionary force ever to mislead the worker * * *. If Communist unions ever gain the position to exercise influence in the transport lanes of the world, the free world

will have suffered a staggering blow. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters stands prepared to fight this eventuality to the fullest.

The same issue of *The International Teamster* (p. 3) described the forthcoming "historic Conference on Transportation Unity" to meet in Washington and declared that "the conference was formalized in July when representatives of the Teamsters, the National Maritime Union, and the International Longshoremen's Association signed a pact calling for a 'continuous and permanent' organization in the transportation field." The pact stipulated that the conference "shall be open to all unions in the transportation industry." The ILWU was thus not specifically excluded. This issue of the union's magazine also declared that the Canadian Labour Congress had given assurances of support to the "mid-July meeting of representatives of the Teamsters, ILA and NMU in Montreal" (p. 4).

THE SEPTEMBER 12, 1958, issue of the *Dispatcher* (ILWU) boasted that the Teamsters Union of British Columbia had offered to cooperate with the striking longshore locals of British Columbia. The August 29, 1958, issue of the *Dispatcher* announced that the Teamsters Union had distributed 30,000 leaflets in support of the strike headed with the pledge: "We do not cross picket lines."

The executive council of the AFL-CIO demonstrated at its meeting in August 1958 that it was keenly aware of the issues involved in the Conference on Transportation Unity, when it adopted (with the one dissenting vote of Joseph Curran) a resolution reading in part as follows:

The question which now confronts this executive council is the fact that there are in existence alliances or agreements between AFL-CIO affiliates and the expelled and corruptly dominated International Brotherhood of Teamsters * * *

It is quite clear that the maintenance of an agreement between a corruptly dominated labor organization and an AFL-CIO affiliate which is of such a nature as to add to the prestige of the corrupt leadership, or would be of assistance to the leadership to retain control or lessen the desire of union members to rid themselves of such corrupt leadership is in direct contradiction to both the spirit and the letter of our constitution * * *

Therefore, this executive council declares it to be the policy of the AFL-CIO that any alliance or agreement, formal or informal, between an affiliate or the AFL-CIO and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters be canceled (NMTU *Pilot*, August 28, 1958, p. 5).

Joseph Curran assured his members that he would "of course, abide by the policy resolution adopted by the executive council."

Joseph Curran heads one of the

announced participants in the Bridges-Hoffa combine, the National Maritime Union. It should be remembered that the House Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated March 29, 1944, listed that union as among those in which "Communist leadership is strongly entrenched." Included in this group was the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which the NMTU delegates to the CIO convention voted to expel from the CIO in August 1950. Despite this earlier parting of the ways, the NMTU leaders seem to have decided that they could once again play ball with the Communists in the ILWU, but there has been no public explanation of the reason for the change. Meeting in New York on October 8, 1958, the national council of the NMTU decided to continue its attempts to bring peace to the waterfront through a closer liaison with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the International Longshoremen's Association in their plans to establish a permanent "Conference on Transportation Unity."

AS THE MOST AGGRESSIVE factor in the alliance, the leadership of the ILWU deserves some added attention. Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, had been identified by numerous witnesses as a member of the Communist Party: J. P. Hentschel (September 10, 1937); John E.

Ferguson (December 7, 1938); Joseph Kornfeder, also known as Joseph Zack (September 30, 1939); Arthur Kent (December 22, 1937); Irving N. Markheim (February 15, 1938); and by many others in the course of numerous court proceedings. The *Daily Worker* has referred to him as the "west coast Communist leader." His relations with the Communist Party are voluminously dealt with in the House Committee on Un-American Activities Report on the CIO Political Action Committee, pages 90 to 97. Bridges has denied or evaded these accusations.

Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, is reputed to be the "brain trust" of the organization, whose power will be unchallenged when Bridges' predicted early retirement takes place to further facilitate the merger. Goldblatt's membership in the Communist Party has been the subject of testimony by at least three witnesses: Hugh Inzer, William P. Branhove, and Louis Rosser. When Goldblatt appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 30, 1957, he said, "I am not a member of the Communist Party," but he refused to answer when asked, "Have you in the past been a member of the Communist Party?" Goldblatt's continued allegiance to the Communist Party line would indicate that he may have executed a strategic withdrawal from actual and formal member-

ship. Back of these two leading officials of the ILWU (Bridges and Goldblatt) is a reserve force of many others with significant Communist records.

MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ILWU

IN THE LIGHT of the active initiative displayed by ILWU representatives in furthering the transport alliance, it must be emphasized that this organization is not a union devoting itself primarily to questions of wages, hours, and working conditions of its members. These questions merely serve as a means whereby a Communist bureaucracy has established a stranglehold over its membership to be utilized for revolutionary political aims. For its immediate purposes this memorandum will omit instances of ILWU support of day-to-day Communist causes and will be restricted to instances in which the ILWU has acted on questions which have military significance in support of the warlike aims of the Soviet Union and the international Communist conspiracy directed primarily against the United States. Instances are cited from official publications of the ILWU and the Communist press:

(1) "In 1919, the Seattle longshoremen, backed up by the Pacific coast district of the ILA and AFL State Federation of Labor in Washington, refused to handle arms for

the Allied Expeditionary Forces fighting in Siberia. Consistent with their trade union policy of the autonomous right of union organizations to run their own affairs, the Seattle longshoremen pointed out that—

... the settlement of all Russia's affairs, including her form of government, should be left entirely to the Russian people themselves, without interference from any source."

(2) "During the collective-security of 'popular front' period (of the Communist Party) ILWU strongly supported Roosevelt's antiaggression program * * *. With the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the ILWU suddenly discovered that the war in Europe was of no concern to it. It attacked President Roosevelt and his policy of giving aid to the Allies * * *. Following the opening of hostilities between Germany and Russia in June 1941 the ILWU leadership suddenly discovered that the war in Europe was, after all, a matter of vital concern to the labor movement * * *. In the summer of 1944 Bridges and the ILWU executive board urged that the no-strike pledge be extended into peacetime * * *. With the end of the war in Europe and the collapse of the wartime collaboration between the Soviet Union and the democratic nations, the position of the ILWU, like that of the Communist Party, underwent another change * * *. The no-strike pledge was forgotten * * *. When the Tru-

man plan for Greece and Turkey was announced in the spring of 1947, it was bitterly attacked by the *Dispatcher* in a front-page editorial which compared it with the 'international gangsterism of Hitler.'

* * * When the Marshall plan was enunciated, it too was condemned by the ILWU * * * ILWU has demanded that the United States end stockpiling of the atomic bomb without calling for international inspection of the Soviet's production of atomic weapons. ILWU has also opposed the North Atlantic alliance * * *. The June 1949 *Dispatcher* hailed 'the Chinese liberation,' comparing it with the United States, French, and Soviet Revolutions."

(3) "High Communist Party agents planned and provoked a 1949 dock strike that paralyzed the port of London for nearly 7 months and almost wrecked the Marshall aid plan, a former Red organizer told a House Un-American Activities subcommittee today.

"Pat Walsh, 37-year-old Quebec city seaman, was the first witness called by Representative Bernard W. Kearney in a congressional investigation of communism in upstate New York.

* * *

"The witness said * * * Goldblatt, Harry Bridges' right-hand man and secretary-treasurer of the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, attended the meeting."

BBRITISH GOVERNMENT deports Goldblatt because of his Communist affiliations, in connection with a London dockers' wildcat strike that paralyzed the port for 25 days and forced the Government to place the waterfront under virtual martial law.

"Louis Goldblatt, San Francisco labor leader deported from Britain as a 'Communist agitator,' said today his union is planning 'concerted action' in retaliation. He refused to say what this action would be.

"Goldblatt came to Paris to attend the Trade Unions International of Seamen and Dockers, an affiliate of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. The administrative committee sent him to London to investigate the dock strike."

(4) "The CGT, the French Confederation of Labor, has thrown its support behind dockworkers refusing to unload arms from America."

(5) Ray Keenan, secretary, ILWU Columbia River District Council, authorized a series of articles attacking the Coast Guard screening program.

(6) Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, declared at a mass meeting of his organization that stopping another war was a trade union job.

(7) The Seattle and Everett locals of the ILWU adopted a resolution demanding that the Korean war be stopped and that all American troops be withdrawn.

(8) The *Dispatcher* (ILWU) of August 29, 1952, page 8, demanded the immediate halt of the Korean war as did the ILWU executive board.

(9) The *Dispatcher* of November 21, 1952, page 2, carries an attack on "U. S. Spanish Deal as Franco Grants Bases."

(10) The *Dispatcher* of January 2, 1953, page 4, urges mercy for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, convicted atomic spies.

(11) The *Dispatcher* of February 15, 1957, page 2, contained an editorial and a cartoon urging trade with Communist China.

(12) "Officials of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, unaffiliated, have criticized the procedures of the Navy as probably illegal. The union is headed by Harry Bridges.

"The Navy had given locals of the ILWU until yesterday to agree to the new security clearance system. Longshore Local 10 voted against cooperating with it."

(13) In July 1958, the ILWU executive board protested against the alleged "bombing and strafing of 'peaceful merchant ships of various countries (including Britain and Italy) in Indonesian waters' by 'American-Chiang planes.'"

(14) Local 6, ILWU executive board adopted a resolution in August 1958 urging the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from the Middle East, branding the move as "interfering in the internal affairs"

of another country, which is "discrediting the reputation" of the U.S.

INTERNATIONAL TIES OF THE ILWU

IT CANNOT BE said of the ILWU that its basic ties and policies are rooted in the United States; that it is a truly independent, American trade union. Over the years it has displayed connections with Communist-controlled international organizations which give good grounds for the conclusion that the ILWU responds to some sort of international obligation or discipline. That the ILWU takes considerable pride in these international ties is disclosed by its official history called *The ILWU Story—Two Decades of Militant Unionism*, from which the following is quoted:

Thus it was not surprising that when the newly formed World Federation of Trade Unions met in San Francisco, at the time of the founding session of the United Nations, the ILWU was recognized as the host union for the affair—and deservedly so.

In the first major postwar maritime struggle, that of the Committee for Maritime Unity in 1946, these international fraternal bonds paid off well. When President Truman threatened to smash the projected maritime strike with Navy-manned vessels and Army longshoremen, the call for help from the ILWU produced a worldwide wave of union support. Pledges that these

scab cargoes and hot ships would rot overseas poured into the CMU. And the great gains of the successful negotiations, without a strike, followed soon after. The support from overseas was the turning point in convincing the employers that they'd lose a strike.

The ILWU sugar workers too have cemented their ties with sugar workers everywhere. And delegates have gone from the ILWU to the Philippines, to Mexico, to Puerto Rico, and to Cuba to plan joint action and to pool knowledge and information on how best to advance the interests of sugar workers everywhere. Similarly, sugar union representatives from these areas have journeyed to San Francisco to meet and coordinate activities with the ILWU (pp. 86, 87).

Harry Bridges has frankly expressed his readiness to accept aid from Communist sources, both domestic and international:

The position of our union should be understood * * * (the ILWU is a maritime union and when our members are) on strike they will take help from any source, and if it is a question of Communist or others, in Australia, Great Britain, Russia, France, or anywhere else in the world, when we send out a call for help, we don't say, "Just accept this call if you are not a Communist union," we send it out and we hope for the best. That is true of my membership and that is the way we work, and that is all we are after.

The official organ of the World

Federation of Trade Unions has openly expressed its backing of the ILWU.

Bridges' official connections with the WFTU, which has been repudiated by the CIO and the British trade unions because of its Communist domination, was disclosed in his union's publication:

MARSEILLE, FRANCE.—The Maritime Federation of the World, a trade department of the World Federation of Trade Unions, has been reorganized with a newly constituted executive board into the Maritime and Port Workers Trade Union International. ILWU President Harry Bridges has been named honorary president of the newly constituted department.

THE *San Francisco Call Bulletin* of July 22, 1949, stated that Louis Goldblatt had been deported by the British Government because of his Communist affiliations in connection with a London dockers' wildcat strike that paralyzed the port for 25 days and forced the Government to place the waterfront under virtual martial law.

The *Oakland* (Calif.) *Tribune* of July 24, 1949, announced that Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, had come "to Paris to attend the Trade Unions International of Seamen and Dockers, an affiliate of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions." The report stated that "The administrative committee sent him

to London to investigate the dock strike." Goldblatt was reported as stating that "his union is planning 'concerted action.'"

Local 8, ILWU, of Portland, Oregon, addressed a letter to the Italian Embassy on June 15, 1955, protesting against the Italian Government's treatment of longshoremen and dockworkers in Genoa. A copy of the letter was sent to Giuseppe di Vittorio, Italian Communist leader of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

As recently as December 3, 1956, when Newton Kunio Miyago, secretary-treasurer of Hawaii Local 142 of the ILWU was testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, he was asked:

Has the ILWU any present direct or indirect relations with the World Federation of Trade Unions?

He claimed fifth amendment privilege in refusing to answer, thus impliedly asserting that a truthful answer would tend to form at least a link in a chain to connect him with a punishable offense. He was then asked:

Has the ILWU ever paid money or dues to the WFTU?

Mr. Miyago again refused to answer, except to claim fifth amendment privilege.

It is pertinent in this connection to recall that after the disastrous general strike in San Francisco in 1934, Sam Darcy, California Communist Party organizer, expounded

in the official Communist Party monthly magazine on the achievements of that party and its leading role in the strike. He referred to Bridges as "the accepted leader of the Longshoremen." In August 1935, Darcy was called upon to report before the Seventh Congress of the Communist International meeting in Moscow on the San Francisco strike. This report evoked a vigorous protest from the American Ambassador, William C. Bullitt, and from Secretary of State Cordell Hull, on the ground that the Soviet Union was violating its pledges not to interfere in the internal affairs of the United States. The chaos which engulfed San Francisco is described with pride in *The ILWU Story* published by the ILWU in 1955. It presents a startling picture of what may be expected on a larger scale from an alliance of the Teamsters, National Maritime Union, ILWU, and the International Longshoremen's Association:

Now operating as District 38 of the ILA—forerunner of the present longshore division of the ILWU—the longshoremen on May 9, 1934, struck the entire coast and almost simultaneously the seagoing groups organized and struck with them. It was the first coastwide, industry-wide strike in history.

* * *

The result was tear gas, guns, and bloodshed. Two strikers were shot down by police in San Fran-

cisco, two in San Pedro, and two in Seattle. California's reactionary Governor Merriam called out the National Guard.

* * *

San Francisco labor replied with a general strike—the first successful general strike in American history. General Johnson, chief of the National Recovery Administration, flew to San Francisco and pronounced: "This is revolution!" Newspaper screamers shouted, "Moscow-directed!"

* * *

The electrifying success of the 81-day strike of 1934 resulted primarily from the rank and file strength and solidarity of the men themselves (pp. 13, 14, 15).

THE Communist International, through its official organ, boasted of the economic paralysis achieved in the San Francisco strike led by Harry Bridges:

The general strike, which tied up San Francisco and the surrounding region for 4 days, was the greatest general strike ever organized in the United States. It involved nearly 150,000 workers in 175 unions, and completely paralyzed the economic activities of a population of 1,300,000 * * * The workers influenced by the party and Red unions were instrumental in bringing about the general strike, and remain the vanguard of the maritime strike.

It should not be overlooked for a moment that Harry Bridges and his henchmen in the ILWU are sea-

sioned veterans in the job of provoking economic disorder on a large scale. William B. Stephenson, former naval intelligence officer, and chairman of the Hawaiian Territorial Commission on Subversive Activity, has described the May 1949 strike in the Hawaiian Islands (aptly called "a natural headquarters for all the commands of the far Pacific" and "a depot for supplies to the far Pacific") as follows:

The strike started on May 1, 1949, and continued for nearly 6 months. The strike was of increasingly greater deleterious effect to the Territory. Stocks of foodstuffs, for example, or clothing or building materials, that were here prior to May 1 of that year were used up. We had the problem of replacing them.

* * *

I believe, at that time, the longshore group of the union had somewhere around 2,000—maybe only 1,700. It was only the longshoremen who went out on strike. It wasn't necessary to strike the sugar or pineapple industries because, in my analysis, the Hawaiian Islands may be visualized as a human body would, and you don't have to kill the whole body in order to kill the victim. You can throttle him at the throat. And the throat of the Hawaiian Islands, from the standpoint of dependency upon the material things of life, is the Honolulu waterfront and to a lesser degree the outer island waterfronts. Theoretically you might supply these islands by air, but if you gentlemen will recall the Berlin airlift of 1948,

that placed a tremendous strain on the military and civilian air transport facilities of the United States, and they were flying a relatively short distance—not 2,200 miles.

BASIC COMMUNIST AIMS IN THE TRANSPORT INDUSTRY

WHILE the transport alliance is being actively promoted by Harry Bridges and his clique ostensibly on purely economic and trade union grounds, their basic and underlying motive is not disclosed by them. It must be sought in certain authoritative, Communist sources, which, on occasion, have been revealingly frank. The following is a call to transport workers issued by the Communist International in its International Press Correspondence:

Water-transport workers, live up to the traditions of the struggle against war.

Transport is called the vital artery of the bourgeoisie in peace and war. Standing as they do in this vitally strategic key position none can do more in the struggle against fascism, in the struggle against imperialist war, than the international transport proletariat.

The water-transport workers have a good tradition in the fight against war. These traditions must now be renewed.

Harry Bridges was a member of the sponsoring committee of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace,

otherwise known as the World Peace Congress. This organization published *In Defense of Peace*, an official organ, the January 1950 issue of which, at page 43, shows a cartoon from a French paper urging sitdown strikes against munition shipments for troops fighting the Communists. Louis Saillant, head of the World Federation of Trade Unions, speaking at the Stockholm Conference of the World Peace Congress, March 16-19, 1950, referred to cases where Communist-inspired seamen and dockers have refused to transport or unload war material. Saillant said, "These experiences hold valuable lessons for all countries * * *." He demanded international support of "those dockers and seamen," and declared, "this is the path that all defenders of peace in the capitalist countries should follow." His emphasis was upon the capitalist countries. Saillant then sounded the following note:

We should state that one of the essential duties of the defenders of peace is the refusal to work on and produce war material in all capitalist countries * * *.

RED TACTICS IN THE TRADE UNIONS

There are those unacquainted with Communist trade union devices and methods who might scoff at the possible influence of Communist officials who dominate

the 70,000 members of the ILWU within a combine of two million in the transport industry. But there is more to this picture than meets the eye.

IN THE FIRST PLACE, by joining such a combine, the isolated and independent ILWU secures the protection of the entire combination and thus becomes more sheltered from prosecution for law violations.

Lenin once advised his Communist followers "to find that particular link in the chain, which one must grasp with all one's might in order to hold the whole chain." For the Communists that particular link today is the transport industry whereby a comparatively insignificant number of Communists operating within a mass trade union movement in a strategic industry like the transport industry hope to be able, at an appropriate time, to immobilize the workers in the entire industry, paralyze it, and thereby paralyze our economy. Grievances can always be claimed as justification for violation of contracts. It has been noted above how the ILWU turned its strike policy on and off like a spigot, employing a tough strike policy during the Stalin-Hitler Pact and suddenly adopting a no-strike pledge when Russia became an ally during World War II. Also noted above was the wildcat strike of the London dockers in which Louis Goldblatt was involved. The Commu-

nists can be counted upon to make full use of union traditions of labor solidarity and respect for picket lines in deepening and broadening a strike movement, once they have precipitated it. Sam Darcy, former district organizer of the Communist Party of California, outlined the party's plan of operation in his article on the San Francisco Bay Area General Strike in *The Communist* for October 1934, thus setting an eloquent pattern of what may be expected in the future from the transportation alliance, since Harry Bridges is involved in both instances.

THE SUBSTANCE of the following article was later presented in a report by Darcy to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International meeting in Moscow in August 1935:

Let me state here that there would have been no maritime or general strike except for the work of our party * * * The very fact that it was a sympathy strike gives it its political character. * * * The fight began in the decisive sector of San Francisco's economy, namely, the maritime industry * * * It is apparent from the stated facts that * * * the strike had a definite political character. * * *

About a week previous (to June 18), in anticipation of the possible needs for a general strike, we had succeeded in convincing the Painters Local 1158 to sign a circular letter addressed to all other locals

of the A F of L, declaring their own support for a general strike, and asking their vote for it, so that, should a general strike become necessary, it would be possible to call it at the critical moment without any harmful delay. * * *

The very next day the Machinists Local 68, the oldest, and very influential A F of L local in San Francisco * * * voted to join the general strike movement * * *

Of course, the general strike movement was in no sense a spontaneous movement. It took long and careful preparations. At first the militants sent small committees, chiefly from the longshoremen's local, to other AF of L locals, appealing for support by a vote for a general strike. First we tackled only those locals that we knew were most militant. As we began to tackle the larger locals and those in the key industries which would be critical for the outcome of the general strike, we sent, not small delegations, but delegations ranging from 50 to as much as 400 * * * the general strike movement was actually advancing very rapidly, by the votes which were daily taking place in the local unions stimulated largely by the delegations of militants * * * (A polite term for the Communists.—Ed.)

Yet the workers in the Longshoremen's local, an AF of L affiliate and a craft union, were able under the pressure of circumstances, quickly to break down their own routine work inside their own local, and reach out to other locals as far removed from longshore work as bakers and cleaners and dyers, and

help organize them for the general strike * * * Our strategy * * * was to use the Joint Maritime Strike Committee as a base * * *

On July 5 the National Guard took control of the waterfront * * * On that day finally, the Joint Maritime Strike Committee issued a leaflet openly calling for the general strike * * *

Getting the Teamsters to join the strike was at this time the main force needed to make certain the eventuality of the general strike. This was due to the prestige and strategic post which the Teamsters had * * * On the night of the 11th the Teamsters met. This was, in a sense, a point which was decisive for the general strike * * * The Teamsters demanded to hear Bridges, who was given a tremendous ovation, and they finally voted to go out the next morning.

By the next morning, July 12, 60 local unions had voted for the general strike and about 10 locals were already out * * *

Saturday and Sunday were used by the militants for two activities, first, to pull the remaining locals out, and, secondly, to mobilize for organizational contact. We had to develop a movement within all the local unions, for special membership meetings to elect the five to the General Strike Committee instead of appointing them. The militants also tried through agitation, such as a leaflet issued by the Longshoremen's local, a statement by Harry Bridges, an appeal by the party and the Western Worker, etc., to stimulate the workers to force the election of the delegations of five to the

General Strike Committee in their locals * * * We tried to get an appeal from the San Francisco General Strike Committee to the Portland workers * * *

On Monday morning the general strike was effective beyond all expectations * * * Nothing moved in or out of the city. For practical utility there are six ways of entrance to the city. These are: (1) Bay Shore Highway; (2) U. S. 101 road; (3) Skyline Boulevard; (4) the ferries; (5) by sea; (6) the railroads. Every one of these ways, excepting the ferries and railroads, was patrolled by our picketing squads of workers. Nothing moved without permission of the strike committee. Within the city, transportation was tied up; production stood at a standstill * * * It was obvious that the military forces were helpless against such a strike movement * * *

* * * In a widely popularized radio address by Governor Merriam that very day, he said: "By its very nature the general strike challenges the authority and ability of the Government to maintain itself."

IT SHOULD be noted that the tactics I described above conform to the accepted principles of warfare. Lt. Gen. John W. O'Daniel, who was commanding officer in the Hawaiian Islands from September 1952 to April 1954, had this comment on the military tactics of the Communists in Hawaii:

Communists are out waging war, applying all the nine principles of war according to our concept of the

principles that are applied in a shooting war, and the very ones we teach in our own military schools to be applied in a shooting war * * * And the nine principles of war that I refer to are the principles of: The objective, simplicity, unity of commands, the offensive, maneuver, mass, economy of force, surprise, and security * * *

To indicate the methods employed by Bridges and his confederates on the west coast waterfront in persuading trade unionists to do their bidding, we cite the statement by the then California attorney general and now Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Earl Warren, before California Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in December 1941 with reference to the activities of the convicted murderers, Earl King, E. C. Ramsay, Frank Conner, and George Wallace, officials of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Union, after Warren had received a confession from Frank Conner:

The statement itself (of Frank Conner) was made to me about the 3d of September—a day or two after he was brought down here from Seattle; and he told me, at that time, that all of these men mixed up in this affair, other than himself, were Communists; that King was a Communist; that Ramsay was a Communist; and that Wallace was a Communist; * * * He said there were a few hundred Communists on this coast who were running

many thousands of good labor organization men; and they were doing it by terror and intimidation * * * and we knew, of our own knowledge, of innumerable cases of men—many, many of them labor organization union men—who were beaten within an inch of their lives just because they wouldn't respond to this so-called leadership of Earl King and his crowd; men who wouldn't dare to come forward, or go to the authorities, to complain, * * * You couldn't get any witnesses to testify for them if they did, because people were terrorized * * * he said they were keeping in bondage hundreds of fine labor organization people on this coast * * * they have been dominated and persecuted themselves by Earl King and his kind.

HARRY BRIDGES, it should be noted, was an active supporter of the King-Ramsay-Conner Defense Committee. The Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Union cooperated with Harry Bridges in the San Francisco general strike.

Here is what the then State Attorney General Warren said about the murder of Chief Engineer George W. Alberts with which King, Conner, Ramsay, and Wallace were charged:

These men initiated the brutal murder of a law-abiding citizen without provocation and while he was peaceably engaged in earning a living for his wife and three babies. They didn't give him a chance for

his life. He was beaten with blunt instruments and hacked with knives until he was dead in his own living quarters on the steamship *Point Lobos* where the assassins laid in wait for him.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRANSPORT ALLIANCE

Speaking of the acute danger to our national security implicit in the Hoffa-Bridges-Bradley-Curran alliance, Senator John L. McClellan (Democrat of Arkansas), chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, declared on September 21, 1958, after hearing months of testimony:

The extraordinary powers of the Teamsters Union are such that it can exercise dominate control over the Nation's entire economy. As Mr. Hoffa stated recently in Seattle, the Teamsters Union could, at its will, shut down the commerce of the Nation.

* * *

* * * Already he has implemented this plan by a pact with the National Maritime Union, the development of a closer understanding with the racket-controlled International Longshoremen's Association on the east coast, and preparations for meetings with the left-wing-controlled International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union of Harry Bridges on the west coast. The welding of Hoffa's powers with those inherent in these other organizations has grave im-

plications for the destiny of our national economy.

No family in this country, no matter where they may live, can escape the repercussions. All of our lives are too intricately interwoven with this union to sit passively by and allow the Teamsters (under Mr. Hoffa's leadership) to create such a superpower in this country—a power greater than the people and greater than the Government. This situation even now is critical for the Nation.

* * *

Mr. James R. Hoffa has not only placed hoodlums and men with criminal records in key positions in the union, but he and his chief lieutenants have consorted with the major racketeers and gangsters in the United States from New York to California, from Florida to Michigan.

STATEMENTS of similar import have been made by Senator Irving M. Ives of New York, ranking Republican member of the McClellan committee; Michigan Congressman Clare R. Hoffman, Republican member of the House Labor and Education Committee; and Felix S. Hales, president of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad Co.:

* * * Such an alliance would be a "menace to society that could paralyze the whole country," proclaimed Senator Ives of New York, ranking GOP member of the McClellan Labor Rackets Committee. "The Teamsters could tie up the country right now if they wanted.

They don't need any more power," wryly commented Felix S. Hales, president of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad Co.

* * * Representative Hoffman (Republican of Michigan) says, "If such a federation (of Longshoremen and Teamsters) calls a strike, they could starve us into submission in six days."

CONCLUSIONS

1. The terms of the alliance between the Teamsters Union, the ILWU, the ILA, and the NMU have not been made public, and are shrouded in secrecy. The alliance involving about two million workers in the transport industry from coast to coast has manifested itself rather through operational channels, which we have described. It is a definite menace to our national security both economically and militarily.

2. The alliance includes among its directive forces two categories which are notorious for their defiance of the law, namely, Communists and racketeers.

3. Economically and militarily the United States is unprepared for a general transport strike by these unions since such strikes, especially where Communist leaders are involved, have been known to occur with lightning suddenness.

4. The transportation alliance, in its full potentialities, could constitute a dangerous challenge to the power of the United States Government itself.

5. The alliance constitutes a monopoly in the transportation industry which threatens the economic life of the Nation and which could be employed to strangle the military forces of the Nation in the event of a war.

6. Because of the disastrous possibilities involved, neither the American labor movement nor the American Government can afford to deal with this situation, which involves gangsters and Communists, as if it were a normal union matter involving only law-abiding elements.

7. Well-trained Communist conspirators have infiltrated longshoremen's unions on both east and west coasts, and have acted as the spearhead of the alliance. Large sums of money have been used for this purpose.

8. The racketeering leaders of the Teamsters Union have displayed an utter lack of concern about the Communist records and activities of the dominant officials of the ILWU. Similarly, these Communist officials have displayed their disinterest in the record of racketeering and gangsterism in the Teamsters Union and the International Longshoremen's Association. The alliance is therefore brazenly and dangerously unprincipled.

9. The ILWU has in the past had ties to international Communist organizations such as the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Peace Congress. The Com-

munist International has expressed intense interest in the San Francisco general strike led by Harry Bridges. These ties and the union's activities over the years in cooperation with foreign Communist-controlled unions indicate that the ILWU is susceptible to appeals and pressures from international Communist sources.

10. The Communist Party, U. S. A., has for many years evinced a deep interest in operations on the waterfront and in the transport industry in general, with particular reference to operations in wartime.

11. The alliance mustering close to two million workers in a vital industry will provide a semblance of labor acceptance and greatly increased economic power for the ILWU, hitherto isolated and independent since its expulsion from the CIO.

12. There is evidence that the Communist forces within the alliance have the benefit of expert legal guidance.

13. The Teamsters Union, the ILWU, the ILA and the National Maritime Union have been known to use methods of force and violence to attain their objectives.

14. The rank and file of the unions involved in the alliance do not necessarily share the aims and designs of Communists and racketeering leaders involved, nor are they fully informed. But they are powerless to resist.

15. The record of Communist ac-

tivity in the transportation field demonstrates that inclusion of these unions in the alliance cannot bring "progress" and "stability" to the transportation industry but rather points toward inevitable chaos.

16. The ILWU is an essential part of the monopolistic alliance since it controls the docks and warehouses on the west coast.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is recommended that this memorandum be carefully studied by the Defense Department with a view to the invocation of all pertinent security measures it is authorized to use.

2. It is further recommended that the Defense Department consult with the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee respecting any additional legislation for which the Department sees a need to meet the situation.

3. It is recommended that the Department of Justice consider a grand jury investigation of the transportation alliance with a view to possible prosecution under either the Federal Antitrust Act or the Communist Control Act of 1954 or both.

4. It is recommended that, if the Department of Justice considers that existing legislation is inadequate to meet the threat to national security implicit in the transportation alliance, the Department should seek appropriate legislation by the next Congress.

under the pseudonym of Cal Stanford, a politically-wise Californian decries the lobbyists of his state

THE REPUBLICAN DEBACLE IN CALIFORNIA

by Cal Stanford

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY in California lies sprawled the length of the land and whether it shall ever again rise is the subject of great controversy.

If they put the body away—and maybe they should—it will be but the body, the brains were interred long ago.

It has never had such a trouncing as it took at the polls on November 4.

What caused it?

That, too, is the subject of considerable controversy.

The superficial—though correct—answer is that Goodwin Knight caused it. For this man, as Mrs. William F. Knowland recently wrote, has a “macaroni spine,” and lacked the courage to face Bill

Knowland so that the issues could be thrashed out.

There isn’t any question about this, Knowland’s candidacy unnerved Goodwin Knight. Facing the indomitable Knowland was too much for California’s Hollywood governor. He knew that, with Knowland in the ring, the liberal vote would be split between him and Brown, and Knowland would come high man in the primary.

This is the immediate reason for the Republican debacle in California but it is superficial. The real cause goes deeper.

The principals essentially responsible for this tragedy are the near-faceless dukes of the California duchies inadvertently created by Hiram Johnson nearly 50 years ago.

That's where the story begins; that's how long this defeat has been in the making.

A dispassionate recitation of the political history of the state, since Johnson's time, is well worth reading for it clearly delineates the inescapable end of a bad beginning.

It is elementary cause-and-effect and pretty well foretells the end of the national party unless it takes the purge, just as the Republican party in California must purge itself, if it ever is to rise again.

JOHNSON WAS an embittered man, determined to destroy the power of the Southern Pacific railroad. To do so, he created something called crossfiling and coupled it with the direct primary.

His aim was to destroy the tool of the "interests," the power of political parties, and this he did in great measure.

In the degree that he did, he also destroyed the whetstone of democracy in the Golden State. Oddly enough, this has been generally overlooked.

What Johnson did was to make it possible for any citizen, 21 years of age or over, registered as a voter, to run for any office he chose, so long as he had the filing fee.

Under these Johnson-inspired laws, a candidate could put his name on every ticket and never disclose his own affiliation. All this without any sort of a by-your-leave from a political organization.

This, Johnson thought, would achieve his end. It was a beautiful dream.

Dream or not, it did what Johnson wanted it to do, it stripped the parties of authority and without authority there was no patronage and without patronage, the whole kingdom was lost.

Johnson believed he was doing his state a lasting good. Millions of Californians still believe he did.

True, he destroyed party bossism, but in doing so he gave the state something far more evil.

Johnson's reforms created a power vacuum. He took power from the parties but failed to make provision for it elsewhere. Now, politics, like the rest of nature, abhors a vacuum. With the new concept, political self-starters sprouted like weeds after a spring rain. Mavericks were running loose all over the lot.

The "interests," Johnson's real antagonists, took a squint at the New Look in California politics and liked what they saw.

Before Johnson, they had to go through the party to achieve their ends. Now all they had to do was choose some likely-looking youngster who had a "proper understanding" of their particular interest, supply him with the wherewithal the party had once supplied, elect him and so have a legislator in their hip pocket, rather than in the protective pouch of the party organization as before

The "interests" loved it, for it cut out the middleman.

Soon, practically all the legislators were so elected and a powerful "interest" might have a whole stable of jackasses at his gee and haw.

Better, by jackass swapping, a well-caparisoned lobbyist, on any issue that particularly affected his interest, could control a majority of both houses. Tomorrow, of course, he would return the favor to the brothers-in-arms who had lent their strength.

IN THIS WAY business created duchy on duchy. More properly put, business plus agriculture created them since these two, in the broad sense, were the only political forces in the state.

In Sacramento, they were invincible.

As a result, the laws of California came to reflect their rule and do, today. California is the most regulated state in the union. Free enterprise in California has been withering, lo, these many years.

A prime example of this is the cling-peach industry, though it might be any of 400 others.

The cling-peach people run an air-tight monopoly. Its overlords tell a man how many peaches he can pick from his trees, how much he is to get for them, where they are to be packed and when and where they are to be sold.

Or the dairy farmers. Same thing: their prices are fixed and woe betide

the farmer who tries to sell for less than the established price.

"Fair Trade" is all over the place. The liquor administrator for the state has just threatened to file charges against any booze peddler who gives away so much as a swizzle stick.

This then is the result of the cart before the horse, of business, rather than politics, being the dominant interest in California state government.

Republican legislators in California—with too few exceptions—owe their election to one or another "interest," rarely to the party. Owing nothing to the party, they pay it no mind. There is an even greater evil here than appears at first blush.

Remember, the business of business is business. The business of a party is politics. This is a tremendous difference.

A political party is noble or base in accordance with the character of those who man it. "Business" has no moral character, either good or bad. It is a money making device and nothing else.

Johnson's fault lay in not appreciating this. Perhaps he thought political parties had to be rotten. No matter, he chose to destroy the house rather than clean it and in doing so bequeathed political control to an element that had no real concern for the *mores* of good government.

So, as time passed and as more and more California legislators

were elected to office by the business interests of the state, whatever political convictions the lawmakers once may have held, invariably these convictions played second fiddle to their business."

YET, IT WORKED. Worked well if, by "working," one means electing Republicans. For there was no real political conflict. Generally, the interests of business and the political interests of the Republican party ran parallel.

Nevertheless, the philosophical cart was before the horse and, to a longhead, foretold trouble if the Democrats ever moved.

And what of the Democrats?

There weren't any Democrats. In California it wasn't respectable to be a Democrat.

In 1931, the last full year before Roosevelt, the California senate was made up of 35 Republicans, four Democrats and one vacancy. The lower house, that year, held 73 Republicans and seven Democrats.

How long since you've seen a Republican lineup equal to that?

They filed on both tickets, thanks to Mr. Johnson; had their party affiliation hidden, thanks to Mr. Johnson; had their pockets laden with "business" cash, double thanks to Mr. Johnson, and as a consequence took both nominations in the primary and had only themselves to face in the November election.

Enough, really, to make an office

holder think he was a statesman.

It is little appreciated, yet, less than a generation ago, the general election in California had about as much real meaning as it has, today, in the South.

The Democrats, during these years, while they had a party structure, had little else. Certainly they had no muscle, no brawn, no money, and no organization that functioned. In short, no nothing.

The party lay there like an empty shell.

And there it lay when Franklin Roosevelt created Big Labor.

And there it lay when Big Labor, like a hermit crab, crawled inside.

When Labor first began to move in Sacramento, the state capital, its representatives were eyed with scorn.

The other lobbyists—envoys of the hundreds of economic duchies that had been created—treated them with little civility.

That was a mistake, for Labor, unlike Business, has politics as its primary consideration. Never mind about wages and hours, politics first, pork chops later.

Thanks, first, to Roosevelt, later to Warren and Knight, Labor became the owner of the bankrupt Democratic party in California, and with ownership installed its militant organization.

By doing so it gave to the party of its choice the "responsibility" the Republican party has not known since Johnson.

Today, the Democratic party machinery marches in goose step.

It wasn't easy for them to achieve this eyes-left conformity. It took an awful lot of hard work by rank and file Democrats, as well as by two sympathetic Democratic presidents and two complacent Republican governors. And these workers were not necessarily Labor members, though always in the background, back where the controls were handled, were the Labor Bosses and Labor money—heaps of both.

During these years, when the Democratic party in California was experiencing a new birth, the Republican party machine lay in near-dormant condition.

Business had no need for a party, no need for organization, when it owned the legislators. So, when Labor's muscles began to swell within the Democratic party in California there was no Republican counterbalance.

Labor pushed particularly on "social welfare" issues and the Republican legislators opposed them effectively only if the proposals carried a tax rider aimed directly at business.

Not many did. The sales tax paid the freight.

This was the life of the party for nearly 50 years. This was all the life there was despite the highly-publicized fact the Democrats have elected but two governors this century. Brown is Number Two.

Earl Warren as governor gave

the Labor-Democrats "social welfare" until it ran out their ears. He even created a state agency which had as its main purpose teaching kids to play.

That sort of thing was bad enough as a waste of money, but more importantly it set up another state-wide organization whose political cant inevitably was to the left.

How do you think playground directors vote?

This state director of playgrounds developed a card file of more than 1,000 such leaders, located all over the state, and all under his direction. And he used it to very good political effect.

That was Republican Warren for you.

And who objected?

Nobody really. Playground directors, like most "welfare" people, are paid from the state's general fund, financed primarily by the sales tax and not by a direct levy on business.

BUSINESS RATHER liked these developments for they were perfect evidences of "progress" at no cost. This illustrates as well as anything how the heart of Republicanism in California was eaten away.

After Warren, came Knight, a close student of The Earl. Like his predecessor, Knight cared only for his personal well being. Whereas Warren was stubborn, Knight

proved weak and vacillating, just right for Labor, sometimes right for Business and never right—except by chance—for the people as a whole.

All this Bill Knowland saw.

And he saw more. He saw Walter Reuther. He saw the domination of the man in Michigan and elsewhere, and he knew Reuther's sights were trained on California, in flux and without leadership.

Knowland saw the rotten mess at home. He saw "a job to be done" and he set out to do it.

Bill Knowland knew his state was going down the socialist drain because Labor was pushing it down.

Nobody was raising a hand to stop it, neither its turncoat governor nor the sleek dukes who were coining money while it slid.

California business is not guilty of any overt act. Business will tell you it did not ask Hiram Johnson to rewrite the ground rules. It took them as it found them and, within the rules, made a comfortable, if scarlet, bed for itself.

That it now shares the bed with Labor is not to Business' particular liking, it is but a reflection of its essential inadequacy.

Business would love nothing better than good government if it can be teamed with good business and low taxes.

Compulsory unionism meant—and means—little or nothing to Big Business. In the main, business men like it, that is Big Business, the

dukes. Their employees can be policed as they would never dare police them and the cost of the cops (the Labor Bosses) can be passed on to the public.

INTO THIS SCENE, last spring, I walked an archaic figure. A man who believed the Declaration of Independence made sense, a man who took his responsibilities seriously, a man of his word, Old Pro Bono Publico himself, William Fife Knowland.

He said the whole thing needed reorganizing.

Bill Knowland knew the tenor of his state.

Curing this sort of thing was part of the job Bill Knowland saw had to be done.

These "Republicans," the dukes, have been giving in to Labor on everything except direct taxation on their business ever since Labor crawled, crablike, into the Democratic shell. In turn, Labor lent a hand with the "interests."

Knowland flushed them both.

As his opening shot, Bill Knowland said he was going to campaign against compulsory unionism and that joined the fight, right then.

Labor, suspecting Business had turned on it, panicked. It retaliated by placing on the ballot an initiative to reduce the sales and use tax from three per cent to two per cent, which would hike corporate and personal income taxes sky high on all but the low-income brackets.

Labor had never done this sort of thing before. Heretofore, a gentleman's agreement had existed between Business and Labor, each to protect the other's flank. But, with the Republican gubernatorial candidate preaching the need for reaffirmation of an individual's liberty, Right-to-Work, that agreement was off. What Labor did not know was that Big Business wanted no more of Knowland and Right-to-Work than did Labor.

But the fat was in the fire by then. Labor's initiative was on the ballot. It didn't pass, but it served its purpose.

BUSINESS ECONOMISTS, fingering their slipsticks like 76 mad trombonists, told Business to get away from Knowland and Right-to-Work in exchange for a promise by Labor to drop its tax measure. And they did.

That's what went wrong in California.

Bill Knowland had cursed both their houses.

Now they blame Knowland for the Republican debacle.

Perhaps they are right.

He might have won—had he abandoned his principles as his predecessors Warren and Knight, had abandoned theirs, as those who blame him now have sold theirs.

Have they forgotten that, four years ago Goodwin Knight dropped 500,000 votes between the June primary and the November elec-

tion? A rate of over two a minute.

Have they forgotten that, two years ago, the state senate—thanks to two Republican Januses—went Democratic for the first time in more than 60 years? That the Republican majority in the state assembly by 1957 had been whittled razor thin and is now gone? Or that the state, this year, will run \$250 million in the red?

Have they forgotten that Pat Brown campaigned on promises which, if effected, will mount thousands of bureaucrats atop the 84,000 who presently suck the state's teat?

Did they forget that six years ago Labor smoked out their registration? That now the party label of candidates is affixed under their names and, with registration three-to-two against them, taking both nominations in June is a thing of the past—except as it applies to the Democrats?

Did they forget all that?

Yes, they forgot. They let their one hope die. They let Bill Knowland fight alone.

And unless the Republican politicians of California understand the cause of their party's fall—crossfiling and its concomitant ills—unless they understand this and crawl as penitents back to the political altar of principle, they can take their party and lay its quivering hulk alongside its brains, blown out by bespectacled Hiram so many years ago.

*Something will be lost when the feudal
baron disappears from the Piedmont*

THE WAYS OF BIG DADDY

by James W. Vander Zanden

SWEEPING in a gigantic crescent from middle Virginia through the Carolinas and Georgia on into Alabama is the Southern Piedmont. Here, in the shadow of the Blue Ridge, lies the heart of the Southern textile industry. As one drives from one end of this great crescent to the other, he sees mill upon mill, each with its adjoining village. In parts of the Carolinas it is possible to drive for endless miles without ever losing sight of a mill. As the water tower of one fades over the shoulder, another looms upon on the horizon ahead.

This is the land of the cotton mill—a land that has never quite escaped national attention. New Englanders have been only too aware of the flight of their spindles southward. Organized labor repeatedly has cast a covetous eye upon the region's great unorganized but unionly unresponsive la-

bor force. Businessmen have heralded its people far and wide for their "dependable," "easily trained" and "eager-to-work" nature. And Americans in general have long been inclined to view the region as a curious anachronism in the pattern of our nation's industrial life.

Perhaps no feature has contributed more to the industry's peculiar distinctiveness than its paternalistic traditions. In the decades following the rise of the mills in the 1880's, the beneficent hand of the mill baron reached everywhere. Little escaped his attention, be it the provision for the roof over the mill operative's head in this world or for getting him safely into heaven in the next. Critics were quick to point to the feudal characteristics of the system: the great somber mill substituting for the turreted castle; the small shanties in place of the thatched cottages; the poor whites

coming in for the protection of the overlord as eagerly as did the peasants of centuries earlier. And it was said with considerable truth that the people were tied to the mill from infancy—in swaddling clothes bought on credit at the company store—to death, followed by burial in the company cemetery.

In a word, the mill owner was the baron in a feudal dynasty. He brought the people to the village, *his* village—a hamlet he privately owned and governed. He provided workers with homes, *his* homes. The church and school were *his* church and school, as were the parson and pedagogue. The streets, what they were, were *his* streets; the law was *his* law.

Yet if it was harshness, it was harshness so tempered and softened in its impact on the mill hand, falling so obliquely upon his ego, that—more often than not—it glanced off harmlessly. In his relations with his hands, the baron carried over that old, easy, personal manner of which the South has ever been so characteristic. Day by day, he would move among them, laying a familiar hand on the shoulder, inquiring by name after the members of their family, exchanging with them small teasing jests and allusions so dear to the Southern heart. If the workers were patronized, it was in such a fashion as it appeared to them that the mill master did not patronize them at all but actually deferred to them. And so the

mill hands did not feel even the premonitory twinges of class consciousness in the full sense—that state in which society appears to be divided into rigid layers and one's own becomes an irresistible magnetic pole for one's greatest loyalties and hates.

BUT THE MARCH of time could not be shut out of the Piedmont. It has trod through the area making a heavy imprint here, a mild imprint there. Typifying the “new” Piedmont, the Piedmont of change, flux and fluidity, are the mill villages themselves. The change has been so great as to lead one authority to refer to “the passing of the mill village.” In former days, the mill villages gave a depressing picture of unrelieved shabbiness and ugliness. As pictured by an investigator in Georgia in 1890, “rows of loosely built, weather-stained frame houses, all of them of the same ugly pattern and buttressed by clumsy chimneys,” lined the dusty roads. “No porch, no doorstep even, admits to these barrack-like quarters.”

Inside were heaped the miserable belongings: “a shackling bed, tricked out in gaudy patchwork, a few defunct ‘split-bottom’ chairs, a rickety table, and a jumble of battered crockery. Life is regulated by the sun and the factory bell” (just as it had once been by the sun and farm bell). What trees there might have been were sacrificed, while yards were one endless blan-

ket of red clay, innocent of grass.

For the most part, in the past 15 years, the mills have sold the homes to their hands. This development has unleashed that individual creativity and initiative so characteristic of the American homeowner. Trees, shrubbery and lawns together with flower gardens and window boxes have made their appearance, relieving the stark monotony of the houses. Cheery, freshly white and red and gray houses, interspersed here and there, dispel the once parched dinginess of the setting. And too with the sale of the homes, the villages have become more heterogencous.

More and more their people are finding employment in new occupations outside of textiles. From other walks of life new people are coming to the villages, breaking down mill provincialism. In communities such as Gastonia, North Carolina, the villages are being swallowed up through the encroachment of new suburban residential projects.

There have been other changes as well. A generation or so ago the whole manner, appearance, habits and dress of the villagers set them apart from the townspeople. In fact, to one degree or another, they could be differentiated by their distinctive physical characteristics: a striking lankness of frame and slackness of muscle in association with a shambling gait, a sunken chest, stooping shoulders, a pinched

face and a misshapeness of head and feature. A writer near the turn of the century described their daughters as coming to marriageable age with "a dull heavy eye, yellow, blotched complexion, dead-looking hair," their "unmarried women of 30 . . . wrinkled, bent, and haggard," while the lot of them were illiterate. As a class, the mill hands showed little attention to soap and water, clean overalls, or brush and comb.

TODAY THE MEN own neat blue serge suits, some modest white shirts and shoes that take a shine. Their wives have attractive, fashionable silk dresses, and the more frivolous items to go with them. Closer attention is paid to one's hair, to the state of one's nails, to a bath, and to a somewhat prouder set to one's shoulders. While the work-gnarled hands and bearing of the "old-timer" still would give him away, a young mill hand and his wife, window-shopping along Main Street, might easily be mistaken for a couple that never had lint in their hair.

These changes have been accompanied by a sharp mitigating in the scorn and contempt with which the mill hand was traditionally viewed by the townspeople. It is reflected in the virtual disappearance from common conversation of such epithets as "cotton-mill trash," "Lint-heads," "cotton-tails" and "factory-rats," expressions by which snob-

bish disdain was shown for the mill operatives. Yet, for the most part the mill hands and townspeople still go their separate ways. Their organizations and churches are separate. As a mill preacher observed of his parishioners: "They feel more comfortable among their own folk. They feel a warmth that isn't found in the uptown churches. They're with friends—their own element. There's less strain and tension than there would be with folks that are not familiar."

For the most part, time has also witnessed the close personal relationship between top management and the mill hands become but a memory, a way that passed with the fathers. Most of the old barons are gone. Gone with them are the familiar hand on the shoulder, the sympathetic interest and concern with each operative. Absentee ownership, the cult of the Great Executive, the growth in the sheer size of the mill, the institution of three shifts where there had been but one, these and other factors have all taken their toll.

YET SOMEHOW the change is not as great as it may, at first, appear. For the most part "mill folk" do not see management as something cold, impersonal or untouchable. Management has kept the "door open." The men at the top may no longer move among the hands as did the old baron, but the worker feels that management still

will give him an ear. It may be true that less and less the worker avails himself of the "open door." But he does feel the door *is* open. Management is accessible. And this is the important thing. It is still possible for the hands to think of themselves as "people," the "people of the mill community," and not as "employees." They see themselves as cooperating with management, working *with* it rather than *for* it. The men at the top are viewed, not as inherently "better" or "superior," but as merely performing a different task. Nor do the mill people see their interests as necessarily in conflict with those of management. They take an intense pride in "their" mill and identify themselves with it. The debacle of the CIO's "Operation Dixie" in 1948—and in other unionizing drives—suggests that the mill hands view the existing pattern as for the most part satisfactory.

"Big Daddy" is not dead. He lingers on here and there, but only as a pallid, wasted skeleton of a once-hardy, virile, commanding figure. Probably the most persistent hold-over from the paternalistic system is the aid given the churches. As late as 1929, of some 322 North Carolina cotton mills, only eight did not make it their policy to aid the churches in any way. Today the story is little changed. As one drives through the Piedmont, he is inescapably impressed with the area's elegant, stately brick

churches, their newly seeded lawns, their unweathered red brick, their fresh white paint all testifying to their recent origin. New education buildings and parsonages dot the horizon. It is the rare mill which did not provide a generous gift for the new structures through either the provision of land or a contribution to the building fund.

Yet, even here, there is a difference—a difference between the mill, absentee-owned, and the mill operated by a lingering old baron or his son. Not infrequently it is the difference between a check for \$500 and a check for \$50,000. And there is a difference too in the personal element, the human element. The absentee-owned mill has lost a good deal of the warmth that has traditionally characterized the mill-church relationship. A mill minister fondly tells of his village's old baron, now in his late 70's: "Mr. ——— is head of our mill. He's a great friend of the preachers and the church. He's personally interested. I recall last year our church needed repair and we were having it painted. Mr. ——— came over to see how the painters were doing. He saw our bare floor and suggested that carpeting be put down. He paid for half of it, telling us we could pay our half whenever we got around to it. For him it is a personal matter. He just wants to see his village kept up."

This old squire contributes in other ways as well. He donated

\$1,000 for a new parsonage, deeded the church the land for a youth building. At Christmas he gives the minister a check for \$100 and a "Christmas treat." The minister relates: "We get the same things as the people do. Ham or turkey or a blanket. In fact, what he gives us exceeds what he gives the people. He is very nice. I remember last year he brought us a whole bag of citrus fruit."

ONE STILL FINDS occasional relics from the previous era, such as one mill not far from Gastonia. Here, as in the past, the mill underwrites the church budget, pays a third of the minister's salary, supplies the church and parsonage with free water, provides for the boy scout center and equipment, and otherwise attends to the needs of the church. As I sat in the parsonage parlor chatting with its minister, the mill superintendent and a millhand appeared at the door to undertake some minor repairs on the home. Across the street, four Negro men provided by the mill (the Southern textile industry is lily-white, with Negroes employed only in menial capacities) raked the church yard. The minister sized up the situation, saying: "The mill management is wonderful. They take care of everything. But I don't know if this sort of thing is too good for the people. People say the mill has always done it and always will, so why worry?"

In South Carolina, I sat in the office of a mill superintendent who gave me this account of his mill's aid to a new church during the previous year: "Our hands felt somewhat uncomfortable over at First Baptist. Most of the folks over there were businessmen, professionals and school teachers. So we got a retired Baptist minister and got him interested in starting a new church. We started him out with a tent, just a mission church. Then we built him a Sunday-school room. Well, our people started going to church with him. So last year we helped him get a church. We furnished the material and labor, even donated the land. In fact, to tell you the truth, we practically built the church for 'em. We try to be conscious of our religious obligations."

The abiding interest of management in the village churches is undoubtedly motivated by a genuine concern for the spiritual well-being of their workers. One is not

long in the Piedmont before he realizes the vital and major part that religion plays in the life of its people. Indeed, this is America's great Bible Belt. The influence of religion permeates everywhere, regardless of one's walk or station in life. Yet, at the same time, management is not oblivious of the point made by one preacher: "Religion makes labor more reliable and stable." And mill generosity is further encouraged in this "The Age of Taxes," where charity is rewarded through sizeable tax reductions.

AND so "Big Daddy" lingers on, prominent here, all but obscure there; yet it is unquestionable that no feature of mill life has escaped his molding or fashioning hands. Today the industrial Piedmont retains many of its distinctive qualities, qualities given it by "Big Daddy." It is not surprising then that the industry remains an anachronism within the pattern of American industrial life.

Poles Hail "Dr. Zhivago"

Doctor Zhivago was listed by Polish writers as one of their favorite books of 1958, even though it has yet to appear in Poland.

The novel by Soviet writer Boris Pasternak, denounced in the Soviet Union, has not been published in a Polish language edition. But a survey of Polish writers conducted by the periodical, *Politika*, showed that the book was No. 4 on the list of favorite books by foreign authors.

The three most popular books were by American writers. They were, *For Whom The Bell Tolls* by Ernest Hemingway, *Wild Palms* by William Faulkner and *The Ides of March* by Thornton Wilder. All appeared in Polish translations for the first time last year.

Wit's End

WHEN A WOMAN'S HUSBAND overlooks their wedding anniversary, she probably has a bad memory.

A SHOWER for the bride is a means of celebrating another guy down the drain.

ALWAYS be sincere, whether you mean it or not.

A LONDONER spoke up saying, "In England, we play a game called Rugby, in which there is a lot of shin kicking."

"Well," said the American, "we play it over here too, but we call it bridge."

THE PRACTICE of some African tribes of beating the ground with sticks and giving vent to blood curdling noises is a primitive form of self expression. This will be a comfort to golfers.

THE SUCCESSFUL POLITICIAN doesn't try to fool all of the people all of the time; just before election is all that's necessary.

A MINISTER was asking his audience for a ten dollar contribution from each one of the congregation for the construction of a new church. He concluded the oration saying, "All of you who'll contribute please stand up." Then turning to the organist he asked her to play some music. Puzzled she asked him what song would be appropriate. The minister replied, "*Play The Star Spangled Banner.*"

THESE DAYS it costs more to park a car than it does to run it.

THE ONLY THING most do-it-yourself carpenters ever learn to make is sawdust.

YOU KNOW a man really loves his wife if he will let her break in a new car.

THERE'S NO HUMOR in newspaper comics nowadays, to find it you have to turn to the political news.

THE BEST THING about moving out to the suburbs is that you're so close to the city.

WHEN it comes to new cars, most arguments start from scratch.

HE WHO HAS learned to disagree without being disagreeable has discovered the most valuable secret of a diplomat.

MANY a used car dealer has taken a customer for a ride.

FOR ALMOST A WEEK, Rodney had been arriving at the office looking more and more haggard. Finally his employer asked what was the trouble.

"Well," said the hollowed-eyed Rodney, "My mother-in-law gave Junior a drum for his birthday, and he's up every morning at 5:00 A. M. pounding on it. My wife won't let me take it away from him, and I don't know what to do."

"Hm," the boss mused, "that shouldn't be too difficult. Suppose you just buy Junior a jackknife, and ask him if he knows what's inside the drum."

A SINGLE GIRL'S real social security number is the one on her telephone.

PILOT: I am carrying an atomic bomb and running low on gas. Please give me landing instructions.

Control Tower: Field covered, circle field and wait for further instructions.

Pilot (after circling field several times): My gas is gone. Must land now.

Control Tower: Well, here's your instructions: Repeat after me, "Our Father, who art in heaven . . ."

THE FELLOW who is always waiting for his ship to come in, is apt to miss the boat.

WHEN the pretty young high-school freshman returned a volume of Shakespeare to the library, she was asked what she thought of his writing.

"I don't see why people make such a fuss over his work," she said. "All he's done is bring together a bunch of old, well-known quotations."

A FARMER'S barn burned down and the adjuster for the insurance company came to settle the claim. He explained to the farmer that instead of paying the claim in cash, his firm would build another barn of similar construction and size. The farmer was furious. "If that's the way your company does business," he declared, "you can just cancel the insurance policy on my wife."

DEFINITION of a Cocktail Party: A gathering where people generally spill something on somebody or about them.

GERTIE, who hardly knew one end of the horse from the other, was cleaning up at the racetrack. When a friend asked her about her "system," she explained: "I just buy a program, close my eyes, and stick a pin in it. Wherever I stick the pin, I bet on that horse."

"But what about your big winnings?" she was asked. "What about your parlays of three and four horses?"

"Oh," exclaimed Gertie, "for parlays I use a fork."



SPOTLIGHT ON PERFORMANCE

by William H. Allen

You are invited to contribute to "Spotlight on Performance." Letters, documented materials, and criticism will be acknowledged.

APPLICANTS for admission to Kenyon University, Granville, Ohio, are asked to write why they want to come there. Should motives be performance-audited? College expenses, \$1,300 for two semesters.

New Haven voted against the proposed new charter, thus saving the city from putting its controller under its chief spender, the director of administration. New Haven is the seat of Yale University, whose professors are often asked to tell Washington how to govern U.S.A.

"Has big government grown beyond the control of its citizens?" was asked of two Governmental Research Association speakers at the group's annual convention. Neither answered the question or indicated that he knew any specific steps toward citizen control that have proved effective. Such down-to-earth topics as audits of wasteful

spending, lobby budgeting, pressure propaganda, comptroller general reports of wastes and inefficiencies were not mentioned.

The late Charles F. Kettering, inventor, researcher and donor of idea- and money-gifts, offered to build General Motors' first chemistry laboratory on the campus of Ohio University. The chemistry faculty didn't want it: "Researchers need insulation." The Kettering flashback was: "Research calls for irritation not insulation!"

Asked if he named a woman for secretary of state because of her support of him, Governor-elect Rockefeller, aware of reader performance-auditing, said "No, because of woman's work for better government!"

"What to do before skid row is abolished" is the novel title of an unusually set-up report by Greater

Philadelphia Movement, Philadelphia 7, William H. Wilcox, Executive Director.

A newspaper staff writer obtained a license to teach and obtained appointment to a "difficult" school in NYC. Incognito, he taught two months in a junior high school. Not till he had resigned and started a history-making series of 15 articles, page 1, *World Telegram and Sun*, did the school world know of this undercover exploit.

Did school authorities commend him for a notable contribution of Pulitzer Prize super-quality? On the contrary, they named a committee to investigate his intrusion!

Detroit and Michigan are helped to visualize the effect of inflation by their Citizens Research Council. In charting government increases for schools, a second line is drawn to show the lesser increase in purchasing-power spent. This line for the "constant dollar" gives truth without exaggerating the changes.

Chicago's tragic school fire and NYC's slum scandals recall Jacob A. Riis' "You can kill a man with a tenement as well as with an ax." It is equally true that textbooks can brainwash as well by omissions and emphasis as by anti-U.S. narrative and slur.

The White House special consultant on budgeting is author of

The American Government. That book of 995 pages gives cues to White House concepts of U.S.A. governments—local, state and federal. A perfect master of that book still would be a poor bush-leaguer where and when big-league proficiency and understanding are needed. It has two lines on the U.S. Office of Education, although billions a year are being sought for local schools. Inflation has nothing but four witless cartoons. Among vital topics not indexed are accounting, performance auditing, assessing of realty, AFL, CIO, NEA, constant dollar, economy, efficiency, exemption of taxes, and teacher shortages and recruiting.

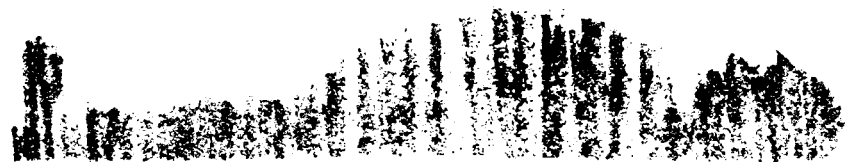
Just A Minute, Bulletin 1,248, of Buffalo's Government Research Bureau, says the big welfare question is: "Are we (cities, states, U.S.A.) going beyond the alleviation of suffering and hardship in our social welfare programs?"

After decades of "underpaying students and underpaid faculties," an unnamed professor told the world last October 12—via *NY Times Magazine*—that money and prestige go to mushrooming administrative staffs but should be going to faculties for instruction.

Why has the American Association of University Professors left this needed performance auditing to a fellow victim? His name is withheld—for "obvious reasons."

by Raymond Schuessler

YOU CAN'T KILL AN UMPIRE



AMERICA's 60,000 umpires are a rugged breed who, though pelted with bricks, bottles, dead cats, parasols, and bullets have managed to keep baseball under unimpeachable control.

Even the managers who abuse them most would rise to their defense if their honesty were seriously questioned. At league meetings, Paul Richards, who used to harmonize with umpire Scotty Robb, was asked, "Has he ever put you out of the game?"

"Put me out!" Richards said, taking his arm from around Scotty's shoulder, "I'm not sure, but I think he holds the record."

This is not a typical workaday reaction of a ballplayer toward an umpire. When someone asked Bobby Brown, former Yankee infielder who was a between-season medical student, "In what are you going to specialize after you gradu-

ate from Tulane Medical School?" he said unsmiling, "Vivisection of umpires."

The constant feud between umpire and ballplayer is a relative one. Frank Gabler, one-time big league pitcher, found this out when he became an umpire.

Once, when Gabler was working behind the plate, one of the pitchers was complaining about the calls. Finally Frank took time out and walked to the mound shaking his head solemnly.

"Look son, I used to be a pitcher too, for 15 years. And for 15 years I used to think them pitches were strikes too. Now let me tell you something, son.

"I just found out I've been wrong for 15 years. Them ain't strikes."

Umpires today don't have it as tough as in the days when only one arbiter handled a game. The single

umpire stood behind the pitcher calling balls and strikes with base runners at his back. The players got away with murder. Often you saw the umpire skipping backwards along the foul line trying to watch two or three players at once because base runners sometimes would run from first to third. Outfielders would stash away extra balls in the long grass and on extra base hits marvelously throw out base runners by the gross.

DURING THE EARLY DAYS, ball clubs had it tough financially, the players received no salaries, getting meal tickets instead. Aware they could not be fined, they tormented the umpires mercilessly. That is, until one ingenious umpire reached into a player's pocket, grabbed his meal ticket and began tearing out sections. "There goes your steak and potatoes," said the umpire. "Say another word and I'll take your apple pie."

Not so long ago umpiring in the lower minor leagues was like hunting bear with a broom. One year in Jenkins, Kentucky, an umpire in the Class D Mountain State League called a close play at the plate in favor of the visiting Newport team. The fans flared and soon a big mountaineer stood up in the crowd and yelled, "String him up." Immediately somebody produced a rope and a lot of wild-eyed spectators began climbing onto the field. Luckily someone turned the lights

off and the perspiring umpire escaped into the hills.

In the big leagues, however, no such shenanigans are tolerated. "Tim Hurst was the toughest umpire that ever lived," recalls Arlie Lathan, old-time baseball great. "One time I threw my cap on the ground and began yelling bloody murder over one of Tim's decisions. Hurst kicked my cap. I went after the cap and Tim walked alongside of me. As I reached for my cap, he kicked it again. He did this once more and kicked the cap into the dugout."

"And now you follow the cap and don't let me see you anymore today," said Hurst."

Ballplayers sometimes grow fond of an old umpire and overlook a few miscues. In Tim Hurst's last season as an umpire, the players suspected that his vision was not as sharp as it once had been, but he was so well liked that few complained about his decisions and many tried to help him.

When Tim was behind the plate the catchers would hold the ball where they caught it honestly, so the old man would have plenty of time to decide on the pitch.

One day Ed Delahanty was at bat and Tim called the first pitch a strike. Ed said quietly without turning his head: "You missed that one Tim. It was high and outside. Just watch where the catcher holds the ball."

Tim called the next pitch strike

two, but Ed didn't say anything. Tim called the third pitch a ball, and Delahanty nodded agreement. "See what I mean, Tim," he said, "that ball was exactly where the first one was, and you called the first one a strike."

Tim took off his mask and walked in front of Delahanty. "What did you say, Ed?" he demanded.

"I said if the first pitch was a strike, that last one also was a strike."

"I believe you're right, Ed," Tim roared. "Strike three; get out of here!"

Umpires have hearts too and sometimes help a player who has pulled a boner. When Tommy Henrich was caught off base on a hidden ball play, he made a few protesting motions in the direction of the umpire. "Regardless of any technicality, you're out, Tommy," umpire Beans Reardon said.

"I know it," conceded Henrich, "but I'm awfully embarrassed."

"Well, if you want to stand here and talk for a moment to make yourself look good, it's all right with me," Beans said.

So they chatted for an instant about the weather and their families while the crowd roared in approval.

Finally Henrich remarked, "Okay, thanks, Beans," and trotted back to the dugout.

This is a rarity. As umpire Larry Goetz said, "You can't be a good fellow and be a good umpire."

Look what happened to one good natured umpire. Some players concealed the regular home plate and painted with white lime a phony plate three feet in front. After finishing his talk with the managers, this unnamed umpire took out his whiskbroom and brushed and brushed, but no plate appeared. Finally, the first hitter took the umpire by the arm and showed him where the real plate was. He never lived it down.

When umpires have learned all the tricks after their first year, they do not do as one yearling did. When a hood in the bleachers yelled a nasty name, he tore off his mask, raced over to the stands and bellowed:

"Whoever said that, stand up!"

Everyone in the park stood up. The ump turned around, put on his mask and said feebly, "Play ball."

Deaf mutes have been given the heave-ho by umpires. When deaf mute "Dummy" Taylor, former Giant player and coach, was pitching for the club in 1905, he would abuse an umpire in sign language. This went on until a thin-skinned umpire decided to put an end to Dummy's complaining.

The next time the pitcher told the ump in sign language what he thought of him, the umpire rattled back in finger language, "Listen, smart guy, I've spent all my spare time this week learning your language. You can't call me a blind bat anymore. Now, get out of the game."

Umpires seldom make mistakes because of poor eyesight. "When an umpire misses a play," says Bill Stewart, "it isn't because he doesn't see well. It's usually a case of slow reactions.

"Take a pitch which seems to be over the corner of the plate. The umpire makes up his mind the pitch is a strike. At the last second, the ball dips or curves away from the corner. An umpire with quick reactions changes his decision instantly and calls the pitch a ball. The umpire with slow reaction doesn't change his mind in time. A faulty decision is the result.

"You don't always call a play by sight," adds umpire Ed Runge. "Sometimes it's done by ear. For instance, on a play to first base, you watch the base, see if the fielder has his foot on the bag, then you *hear* the thrown ball arrive in the glove. In that way you can positively tell whether the runner or the ball got there first."

Every season someone will suggest an electronic eye to call balls and strikes and base decisions automatically. But this will never happen. Sometimes umpires deliberately call a wrong decision to stir up the fans. There is an umpire who during a monotonous game will call a ball a foot over the hitter's head a strike. The crowd will sud-

denly wake up, and he'll softly murmur, "See, the multitude is happy now."

Umpires, an ingenious lot, always try to improve the game. When Joe Rue was working in the American Association he once tried a "patented" baseball holder. Shaped like an inner tube made of wire, held 12 balls and had a trap door at each end, it was worn around the waist. Twice when Rue had to run for third on a close play, both traps opened and the game was halted while he gathered the scattered balls.

THERE really was a game after which the umpire was killed. Oddly enough, it was a game in which no one had even argued with him. The game was played in 1911 on the grounds of the Nevada State Penitentiary, and the umpire was Patrick Casey, a condemned murderer. Casey had been an ardent baseball fan all his life. As the day of execution approached, the warden made the customary inquiry about his last wishes.

"I always wanted to umpire a baseball game," Casey said wistfully.

The warden agreed, so a game was arranged between two convict teams and Casey called the game. The next day he was executed.

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AFRICAN AGRICULTURE

by Ray Vicker

LUANDA, Portuguese West Africa—The price-propping programs of the U.S. and some Latin American lands are helping promote a boom in farming—in Africa.

Tobacco, cotton and coffee production here on this sun-baked continent is shooting upward, giving U.S. and Latin American growers the shivers. This disquiet should worsen once African planters complete a raft of new developments designed to fatten their harvests of these three crops. The expansion is taking place in such isolated areas as the mountainous Watusi country near King Solomon's mines in the Belgian Congo, and near the confluence of the Blue and White Nile rivers below Khartoum.

The artificial price props the U.S. and Latin American governments have shoved under their farmers' tobacco, cotton and coffee crops help buoy world prices, encouraging African planters to expand production; it also helps keep the

prices of U.S. and Latin American crops uncompetitively high in price in many instances, making it easier for African producers to undersell them and grab their markets. In the process, still more New World farm output is being forced into already-bulging government storage bins.

"In a free market, we might have had trouble competing against your highly mechanized American farmers, and many tobacco plantations would never have been started," says one Rhodesian government official.

Government price-propping efforts in other lands are far from being the only forces fueling the farm boom here in Africa, where native farm labor is cheap and fertile farm land is cheaper.

Three of the most important other forces are Britain's eagerness to buy Rhodesian tobacco for pounds rather than Virginia leaf for dollars, newly-independent Sudan's decision to reinforce its wobbly economy by planting more cot-

ton—its biggest cash crop—and the soaring demand for Africa's inexpensive Robusta coffee that's being poured into cut-rate blends of instant coffee.

African planters have lifted their tobacco output in the big leaf-producing Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to 194.5 million pounds this year from about 20 million in 1945, their cotton production to 3.4 million bales from roughly 2.5 million bales, and their coffee crop to 8.6 million bags from 3 million bags.

TOBACCO, cotton and coffee are not the only major commodities Africa produces, of course. Africa's output of some others—such as copper—has risen sharply in recent years, too; again, U.S. price-propping efforts, in the form of stockpile buying, have helped encourage the expansion. The output of some other commodities—such as cocoa—has not changed markedly over recent years.

A handsomely-robed government official in Ghana—the world's biggest cocoa producer—peers out of his office in Accra and complains, "It's just too bad U.S. farmers aren't important cocoa growers. If they were, Uncle Sam would guarantee high cocoa prices and Ghana would be rich."

Most African agriculturists, however, are confident they can make their fortune alone, a belief that's particularly prevalent here in Lu-

anda, capital of Portuguese West Africa (also known as Angola), a land that's nearly twice the size of Texas.

"We have the potential for producing more coffee than Brazil," says a tanned coffee planter as he sips a demi-tasse of highly-sugared local brew on the mosaic terrace of a sidewalk cafe. "Angola has hundreds of thousands of acres of good coffee land which hasn't even been developed but will be if prices remain favorable. Why not? Our production costs are about half what they are in Brazil."

Good agricultural land can be rented from the government for seven cents a hectare (2.47 acres) per year, and if a renter hires it for seven years it's his. This means an acre of prime coffee growing land can be acquired for 19 cents, and because African Negro labor will work for only \$230 a year, the total investment needed to start a coffee plantation is probably less than anywhere else in the world.

Angola expects to grow just over 1,340,000 bags of coffee in its 1958-59 crop year, compared with 1,245,000 bags in 1957-58. In another two years, Angola's output is slated to hit 1,660,000 bags, with much of the extra production scheduled to come from new trees approaching the bearing age in rugged upland country about 100 miles from the coast.

Angola is plunging ahead with its expansion plans even though

Portugal is a member of the International Coffee Agreement that obliges members to restrict their sales of coffee beans—but not of powdered coffee. “We will run our excess beans into powder and get rid of them that way,” says one Portuguese businessman connected with one of two proposed powdering plants.

The French are also excited about the coffee business and in Dakar, capital of French West Africa, production expert Jean Paumelle predicts the output of Ivory Coast coffee will jump from less than 2 million bags this year to 3.3 million by 1963. Many additional trees have been planted and are due to start bearing soon.

“We hope to promote a taste for our Robusta coffee in Europe and then increase production in Africa to meet most of that demand,” says M. Paumelle. The French believe a new chance to increase their African coffee sales lies in the imminent European Common Market scheme. This market will consist of West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy and France, and member nations will steadily lower their tariff walls against each other’s exports.

These countries now import 8,798,000 bags of coffee annually, of which 4,316,000 bags come from Latin America. The French are hopeful the already-low price of their beans—the Ivory Coast variety undersells Brazilian coffee by about

eight cents a pound and Colombian by 13 cents or so per pound in New York—plus the tariff savings will enable them to grab a goodly portion of Latin America’s sales.

COFFEE TREES are sprouting all over Africa, which already accounts for 25 per cent of world coffee exports. New plantings in the rolling mountain country near King Solomon’s mines and in other areas of the Belgian Congo are expected to raise its 1958-59 crop to 1,245,000 bags from last season’s 1,100,000 bags.

Coffee trees crowd the rugged hills around Jimma, Ethiopia, and new roads are being built into wilderness country surrounding the city to open new production areas. Ethiopia’s coffee output in the 1958-59 season is estimated at just over 880,000 bags, nearly two-and-a-half times the average production in the 1946-51 period, and this harvest could be increased.

“Experts agree,” says the U.S. Department of Agriculture, that “Ethiopia could soon produce 10 times as much coffee as it does now by developing unshaded, irrigated plantations, by clearing wild coffee forests and converting them into more productive areas, and by improving planting and pruning methods.”

The government of Kenya hopes to double its 1958-59 coffee crop of 400,000 bags by 1970. Uganda, which produced only about 225,000

bags of coffee a year in the late 1930's, looks for a 1,400,000-bag crop this season. And such presently unimportant coffee lands as Nigeria and Liberia are trying to edge their way into the business.

Although U.S. farmers can view Africa's coffee boom dispassionately, the Dark Continent's incursion into the tobacco and cotton fields is a direct threat to their markets.

The U.S. is the world's largest tobacco exporter and it supplied about one-third of the approximately 1.5 billion pounds of unmanufactured tobacco that moved in Free World trade in 1957. The U.S. accounted for 53 per cent of Britain's tobacco imports last year, 38 per cent of West Germany's, 35 per cent of Holland's, 34 per cent of Belgium's and 75 per cent of Australia's.

These are impressive figures, but they appear much less so when contrasted with the situation not too long ago when America furnished nearly all Britain's huge tobacco imports, and was unchallenged in half a dozen other major markets. Britain's imports of American tobacco, for example, fell to 168 million pounds last year from 366 million in 1946, while its purchases of leaf from Commonwealth lands—chiefly African Rhodesia—rose to 141 million pounds in 1957 from 62 million in 1946.

U.S. exports of unmanufactured tobacco in the year ended June 30 were seven per cent below the prior

year and 20 per cent under the 1955-56 year. America's total tobacco acreage is down about one-third from 10 years ago, and acreage devoted to flue-cured leaf—the variety being particularly hard hit by African competition—is the smallest since 1932. And the U.S. Department of Agriculture's estimate for the total 1958 tobacco crop is 1.7 billion pounds, down from an annual average of 2.1 billion in the 1947-56 period.

America's experience is in sharp contrast to the situation in Africa, and nowhere can this be more convincingly seen than in Salisbury, the gleamingly modern city in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland that's become the tobacco center of all Africa.

THERE are nearly 3,000 tobacco planters at work in this British territory, and their production has increased to 194.5 million pounds of leaf this year, compared with 180.6 million last year, about 50 million in 1946 and only 16 to 20 million pounds a year before World War II. Rhodesia's tobacco crop should rise still further next year. Farmers have planted 377,000 acres, up from 322,000 in 1957, and yield-per-acre is on the rise, having increased from 533 pounds in 1951 to 780 pounds last year.

African tobacco planters say their postwar production would have grown—no matter what. But they don't mind admitting that Uncle

Sam's willingness to support the price American growers can get for the leaf has done them no harm.

George E. Addicott, a consultant with the Rhodesian Tobacco Association in Salisbury, says, "The value of flue-cured tobacco is measured by the latest price paid in the United States where the leaf is auctioned at nearly 100 centers. It may be said, therefore, that the American policy of Government-guaranteed support prices has had an indirect influence on the stability of the Rhodesian tobacco market since World War II."

The rise in African tobacco production is being matched by its cotton output, and once again, U.S. farmers seem to be suffering as a result.

Africa's cotton harvest added up to 3.4 million bales in the 1957-58 season, or a 36 per cent increase over the 1945-49 years when production averaged 2.5 million bales. The American cotton crop, however, dropped to 11 million bales in the 1957-58 season, down from 13.3 million bales the year before and well below the 14.1 million bale average of the 1950-54 period.

Cotton production is on the rise all over Africa, Egypt harvested 1.9 million bales this season, up from an average of 1.5 million bales annually between 1945 and 1949. French Equatorial Africa boosted its production to about 200,000 bales this year, compared with 136,000 bales in 1952, French sources in

Brazzaville report. On the broad plains of Tanganyika, thriving new cotton acreage has increased production to an estimated 140,000 bales this year against an annual average of 55,000 bales in the 1950-54 period. In Uganda, cotton output totaled 292,000 bales this season, compared with an average of 227,000 bales a year in the 1945-49 period.

WHILE these production increases are no doubt sufficient to disturb most American cotton growers, the Africans have even more perturbing plans up their sleeves. In sunny and sandy Sudan, for example, several million acres of potentially rich cotton land await the flow of irrigation water. The new Managil irrigation development in the triangular area where the Blue and White Nile meet will begin pouring water onto the first of some 800,000 acres next year. Plans are also well advanced for construction of a new storage dam at Roseires which will shunt still more of the Nile's flow onto Sudan's extra-long staple cotton growing land.

The new \$21 million Sansanding Dam on the Niger River is opening two million acres for agriculture. Much of this land is expected to go into cotton, and provide nearly 10 times as much acreage as is now devoted to cotton in all French West Africa. In Tanganyika, Mozambique and French

Equatorial Africa, cotton production is also on the rise.

African cotton, just like African tobacco, is benefiting from U.S. price propping. "Attempts of major cotton producers to maintain a floor under prices is a definite stimulus for increasing our cotton production," says a Nigerian government bulletin urging farmers to increase their cotton acreage.

Nigeria's government, sitting in the squalid and teeming capital of Lagos, is doing its bit to boost cotton output—which totaled 180,000 bales this season—by building a

400-mile, \$54 million railroad line to the northeastern part of the country that will open up a vast new area for cotton planting.

"Only a fraction of this area's potential is at present realized because most of the roads linking it with the railroads are unsuitable for heavy traffic," says a report issued by the World Bank, which is helping finance the new line with a \$28 million loan. Adds the bank, "this is potentially one of the world's greatest cotton growing areas."—From the *Wall Street Journal*, December 16, 1958.

Headline Hunters

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and a group of other monthly-statement-signers are asking Congress to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee as "an agency for repression."

The chairman of the committee, Representative Walter (D-Pa.) not only plans to continue its activities but seeks to extend them to take in immigration and judicial matters now handled by other committees.

In an advertisement in the January 7, 1959, *Washington Post*, Mrs. Roosevelt headed up a group of 34 other signers in saying:

"We believe . . . that the committee has habitually misused its mandate in unconstitutional ways for political purposes; that it has become an agency for repression; that it has usurped the functions of the Executive and judicial branches of our government . . .

"For two decades the Congress has allowed the committee to function. For two decades the committee has condemned individual Americans, has wrecked the lives of some and has denied them the due process of law that English and American courts have toilsomely evolved over many centuries. Now the nation is reaping the bitter harvest . . .

"Let us rid ourselves of this agent of weakness and of folly."

Co-signers of Mrs. Roosevelt's group included Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary, Domestic Relations Court Justice Justine Wise Polier and historian Stringfellow Barr. Since then, Mrs. Roosevelt's son, James (D-Cal.) has endorsed momma's declaration.

HOW TO BE A SUCCESSFUL HYPOCHONDRIAC

by T. F. James

The obstacles to this career are matched by its rewards

ANY FOOL can get sick, but only a man with intelligence, *savoir-faire* and immense courage can succeed as a hypochondriac.

There may be some female hypochondriacs, but they have very little chance of building a solid reputation, because they cannot, under our present marriage statutes, have wives. This may sound odd, but to one who would make hypochondria a fine art, a wife is absolutely necessary.

A hypochondriac without a wife is like a pitchman without an audience. Gradually, he will lose his enthusiasm for his work, his appetite will fail, and he may even get sick. It has happened to several friends of mine who divorced in haste.

Some people tend to sneer at the hypochondriac and try to read him out of the human race as a weak link, or worse, call him an insincere, lying lout. Neither accusation comes close to the truth. Most hypochondriacs are fine physical specimens, who father blooming, ruddy and energetic children. Nor are they liars: every real hypochondriac

is deeply convinced that his illness—or, in most cases, illnesses—eventually will be fatal.

A good hypochondriac knows his pain threshold is a dozen times lower than that of the normal clod; and having diligently studied his *Home Book of Medicine*, he is alert to the deadly significance of every passing twinge. He remains keenly aware of how quickly a cold may go into grippe, grippe to pneumonia, and pneumonia to—

Any hypochondriac worth his prescriptions never mentions the word, “death.” This leaves him wide open to the well known marital horse laugh. It may even lead to speeches such as: “Your grandfather lived to be 90 and your father lived to be 82; we’ll probably have to take you out and shoot you.” It may also lead to an ultimatum: “Those storm windows must come down.”

One fellow I know was going into the hospital for a minor operation on his leg. For a week before the fatal day, he spent hours sitting quietly in a chair, staring into space. When he referred to the

operation, it was always in terms of the "little job," but there was an echo in his voice that sent shivers of doubt and concern down the nerves of his family. His wife kept the children away from him and apologized profusely when she asked him to do the tiniest household chore. In short, he had an idyllic seven days—and then he bungled. On his way out, with his bag packed, he overreached himself. Carried away by his own performance, he gave a little farewell talk at the door about what the little woman should do if he "didn't come back."

The little woman burst out laughing. "I've looked this thing up in the Blue Cross," she said. "It's only worth \$25 to them. Who ever heard of anyone dying in a \$25 operation?"

From that moment on, he was through. Game leg and all, he worked harder around the house, when he came home, than he had for a year.

It is important never, never, never to complain about pain—as such. A good hypochondriac is first and foremost a man of quiet courage. He faces pain (and death) with off-hand detachment. It is not the pain itself, but its significance, that matters. The pain, which is "nothing" always implies "something" far more dreadful. But this must be hinted at, with averted eyes.

The competent hypochondriac never becomes involved in a messy

discussion of clinical symptoms.

"That pain is back," you say.

"Where is it?" your wife asks.

"Here, just a little below the heart," you say.

"Does it go all the way across your chest?" she asks.

"Sometimes," you say, like a fool.

"Sort of sink down toward the stomach, too?"

"Every so often," you mumble, realizing you are on shifting ground.

"Just a little gas," she says.

"Come on. Let's go in and rearrange that furniture in the living room."

If, under pressure, you have to name your disease, be sure to use more than one term. A back pain, for instance, may be discussed as arthritis, lumbago, a slipped disc, or your "old football injury." A stomach seizure can be an ulcer, a virus or a "liver condition."

ANOTHER PRIMARY danger is a counteroffensive from your wife. Meeting this challenge separates the amateurs from the professionals. Above all, don't lose your head.

When you come home from the office and find her sniffing around the living room, moaning about how "awful" she feels, your impulse, of course, is to answer her, symptom for symptom. You've been feeling "achey" all day (especially if it's Friday) and you're sure a touch of grippé or virus (you grow to love

this word) is on its way. But to discuss it would be crudely competitive.

The thing to do here is play young Dr. Kildare. Take her temperature, peer down her throat, and sternly order her to bed. Then, about 11 o'clock, after you have liberally dosed her with aspirin you can casually remark, "You know, I'm feeling a little thick in the head, myself."

"I hobe you're nod gadching it," she will say.

"Oh, I'll throw it off by morning," you reply, bravely, but when morning comes, you're prostrate, talking in a guttural whisper, and breathing only with the aid of a vaporizer. Even if she feels worse than she did the night before, she will stagger out of bed and wait on you all weekend.

Children can do a great deal to promote you as a very sick man. A little surreptitious brainwashing will have them talking constantly about "Daddy's sore leg" or "bad back" to your wife and neighbors. It can come in very handy when your old pal Joe wants you to help him move his piano down to the den.

Today's hypochondriac must cope with obstacles which never troubled his forebears. One of the worst is psychosomatic medicine. It is amazing how quickly a wife can pick up this idea. Before you know what is happening, you find your favorite sensations, the pains that

never failed you before, being explained away as mental fantasies.

WONDER DRUGS are also a problem. For a while, it looked as if they would make the hypochondriac as extinct as the dodo. As they and their press releases poured from the drug firms, there was conjured up the frightening image of a pill for every pain, an injection for every infection. They might well have reduced every hypochondriac in the nation to health.

Fortunately, a few sufferers develop strange and unpredictable side effects, otherwise known as allergies. You won't find it difficult to merge yourself with these ingenious individualists. You recall that once, during your Navy days, you were given some sulfa and it didn't agree with you. In fact, you felt worse.

You minimize your sore throat, which—up to then—you had diagnosed as streptococcus, and say, in your hollowest tone: "I don't think it's serious enough to take a chance, do you?"

"Well," your wife says, hopelessly trapped, "I certainly don't know . . ." you come in with the punch line: "But I ought to stay in bed just to be on the safe side, don't you think?"

If a wife is the foundation of any good hypochondriac's career, his doctor is the capstone. Any man who masters the basic principles of modern hypochondria can cope

with any wife, but the wrong choice in doctors can wreck his career.

One man I know was coming along beautifully, until he got mixed up with a surgeon. He went to him with pains in the stomach and the next thing he knew he was on an operating table, having his appendix excised.

Actually, the rule to follow in choosing a physician is simple enough, but no one, except the truly gifted hypochondriac, has thought of it: *Get a man who is a hypochondriac, himself.*

No doubt the wisdom of this has stunned you momentarily. A doctor who is a hypochondriac can't discuss his symptoms with his wife, because she will howl: "Physician, heal thyself." He can't talk them over with other doctors, because they are all sworn enemies of hypochondriacs. The poor fellow has only one source of sympathy left: his patients. Not all patients are flexible enough to listen to a doctor's symptoms. In fact, only a hypochondriac will do so with sincere, genuine pleasure. It is not hard to see why such a doctor will treasure you as a patient.

YOU WILL come to treasure him, too. No longer will you tremble when your wife snarls, "All right, I'm going to call the doctor." You can say, "Please do."

When the good man arrives, the conversation usually runs something like this:

"Well, under the weather again?"

"I'm afraid so, Doctor. A little virus, I think."

"It's all around. Wouldn't be surprised if I've got the damn thing, myself, the way I've felt all day."

"Doctor, I never would have asked you—"

"No, it's all right. It's my job to keep going even when I'm dead on my feet. Let's take your temperature."

"How's the allergy, Doctor?" (It is vital to get in a question like this or he will stick the thermometer in your mouth.)

"Pretty bad. Not much they can do about it. If it keeps going into my eyes, it can form cataracts."

"Really? You know my eyes have been bothering me lately. Burning, you know."

"I'll shoot you up to a friend of mine. Best eye man in the city. Well you don't have a temperature," (forgetting he hasn't taken it) "but I wouldn't be surprised if you get one during the night. Here's a little prescription you can start with—"

"Give it to my wife, Doctor," you say in hollow tones, "I'm going to stay here in the sack and try and beat this thing over the weekend."

"Best thing to do."

Your wife waits humbly at the door, full of tender concern, while he scribbles out the prescription. With a sigh, you turn on the bed light, sink back and take your latest magazine from under the pillow. Hypochondria, thy name is bliss!

THIS IS THE GENERATION

by Howard B. Rand

There is presently a widespread interest in Biblical prophecy. For this reason the AMERICAN MERCURY has opened its pages to the opinions of clerics and writers who have made a serious study of the subject. We take pleasure in presenting here the opinion of Howard B. Rand, editor of Destiny.

WE ARE LIVING in Bible times today no less than the prophets of old, the only difference being that in their day the prophets proclaimed: "Thus saith the Lord," while we are now privileged to watch events fulfilling their predictions and declare: "This is that spoken of by the prophets." Current world history is being made in precise conformity with the utterances of holy men of God who spoke as they were moved by the Spirit of God to foretell the course of events centuries beyond their time. Jesus Christ Himself stated the purpose of prophecy:

And now I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye might believe. (John 14:29.)

In many instances the prophets were given pictorial previews of coming events and, as they watched the scenes unfold before them, they described what they saw and heard

in the language at their command. They beheld the activities of multitudes yet unborn, and listened to the tumult and noise accompanying the clash of arms. Therefore, they could say in unison with the Apostle John in the Book of Revelation: "I saw and heard." Because the scenes they witnessed are actual happenings today, we know that our generation is the generation upon which the end of the age has come.

In his commentary on the Book of Daniel, in 1853, Rev. Elbert Barnes frankly expressed his puzzlement about the meaning of the Hebrew word rendered "*overspreading*" in Daniel 9:27, which he found actually means "a wing," like the wing of a bird. He explained further that the phrase "*he shall make desolate*" means "to lay waste, to make desolate." Dr. Barnes wondered what this "thing with wings pouring out desolation" could be,

for it was impossible for him to comprehend over a hundred years ago, before the advent of the bombing airplane, what Daniel saw and described.

No one today needs to be in ignorance of what the description, "winged things passing overhead and pouring out desolation on the people below" really means. World War II demonstrated the fact of such bombings from the air and in World War III they will be as fully effective as the Prophet Joel describes them to be.

Joel depicted the scene he witnessed in terms of chariots leaping from the mountain tops. To him any moving object with wheels was a chariot. As he watched these bombing planes coming over the horizon, he exclaimed:

The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness; yea, and nothing shall escape them. (Joel 2:3.)

THE TWO BOOKS of the writings of the Prophet Esdras (Ezra of the Bible) are in the Apocrypha, a collection of Scriptures formerly found between the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. This prophet was an eyewitness of the devastation wrought upon a great army in the coming world conflict (World War III) by an atomic or hydrogen bomb. He saw the blast of fire, the flaming breath and the great tempest it stirred up which he described with remarkable accu-

racy not possible in modern times before the actual explosion of an atom bomb became a fact of history. He exclaimed:

They were all mixed together; the blast of fire, the flaming breath, and the great tempest; and fell with violence upon the multitude which was prepared to fight, and burned them up every one, so that upon a sudden, of an innumerable multitude, nothing was to be perceived, but only dust and smell of smoke: when I saw this I was afraid. (II Esdras 13:11.)

How graphically this and many other descriptive scenes mark our generation as the one the prophets declared would see an age coming to its close. This fact is further confirmed by the Prophet Ezekiel, who stated that Gog of the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech (Moscow), would organize a great confederacy of nations as a part of his plans for evil aggression. Soviet Russia is even now bringing to completion this confederacy of nations, over which she will exercise leadership as declared by the prophet. Until the set time, when God gives the signal, these forces of evil will be restrained. However, at the appointed time, as declared by Ezekiel, they will move as predicted.

When Esdras made inquiry of the Angel concerning the timing of the harvest of the age, he was told:

Even when the number is fulfilled

of them that are like unto you. For he hath weighed the world in the balance; and by measure hath he measured the times, and by number hath he numbered the seasons; and he shall not move nor stir them, until the said measure be fulfilled. (II Esdras 4:36-37.)

A study of prophecy in connection with the Divine timetable reveals that current events are adhering in minute detail to prearranged requirements as to timing. The acts and decisions of individuals and governments, unknown to either, fall into a pattern in complete harmony with the Divine purpose.

When the Divine clock struck, marking the hour when Gentile domination in the world was to end, 2,520 years after Babylon became a world power, peace was taken from the earth. This was the result of the outbreak of World War I in midsummer of 1914. Just 1,260 days after Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated on June 28, 1914, General Edmund Allenby, at the head of the British forces, set Jerusalem free from the Turks (December 9-11, 1917 A.D.). Thus, the sign given by Jesus was fulfilled:

And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. (Luke 21:24.)

WITH THE CLOSE of World War I, parliamentary forms of government began to crumble and fall. Then, as predicted by the Prophet

Daniel, thrones were cast down (Dan. 7:9) resulting in dictators coming to power in many lands. In the Book of Revelation, John gives specific warning concerning the emergence of three powerful forces as the outcome of the rise of dictators. He designates them as "three unclean spirits like frogs" (Rev. 16:13). These have been clearly identified with Nazism, Fascism and Communism. Esdras beheld these three as three heads of an evil eagle, with Fascism the head in the center. John states that these three will be instrumental in preparing the world for the Battle of That Great Day of God Almighty. Esdras foretold the fate of each.

The declaration was made that the middle head would suddenly disappear; that it would die *in its own bed*. It is an interesting fact that Mussolini came to his end suddenly, as well as the system he represented, and in his own country, or "bed," for Fascism died in Italy by the hand of those who turned against their former leader.

Of the two remaining heads, Esdras stated that the head on the right (Communism) would *devour* the head on the left (Nazism) by the sword. It was not the British or American forces that struck the final blow, bringing Nazism to its end; rather, Soviet Russia was allowed to do this, destroying and assimilating much of Nazi Germany. Esdras then witnessed the remaining head (Communism) as-

sume the power of the other two, whereupon he asserted that in the end this head would be slain by the sword. Ezekiel corroborated this in detail in his 38th and 39th chapters. It is to be the ultimate fate of the system dominating Soviet Russia when her leaders make their final bid for world conquest.

Immediately following the statement by John in Revelation that the three unclean spirits like frogs would gather the world for the Battle of That Great Day of God Almighty, there is a special warning, given by the Lord and addressed to those designated as watchmen:

Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame. (Rev. 16:15.)

In Revelation John depicts seven trumpeting angels and each of the last three ushers in a woe. The First Woe covered the activities of the Saracens which extend to the beginning of the Ottoman Empire in 1299. The Second Woe started with the Ottoman Empire and will not end until the Lord's thief-like appearing has become a reality.

THE NINTH CHAPTER of Revelation deals with events arising as the result of the conquests by the Ottoman Empire. Describing a scene he witnessed in connection with the taking of Constantinople, John wrote:

And the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone. By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths. For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt. (Rev. 9:17-19.)

In the siege of Constantinople the Ottomans used cannon cast in the form of lions. John depicted the scene being enacted before him; he beheld men astride these "iron horses."

He saw them ramming in the powder and the shot. He observed the burning of the old-fashioned fuse, serpent-like, with its sputtering head of fire at the tail, or touch-hole, of the cannon. This was followed by the fire, smoke and brimstone issuing out of the mouths of these iron horses with lion's heads. Therefore, he wonderingly commented that "their power was in their mouth and in their tails." He then described the result as the walls of the city were breached by the use of cannon for the first time in such a conflict, declaring that many were slain by this attack.

The Third Woe, or Red Woe, is to follow this Second Woe and covers the period of the coming Soviet military aggression, beginning with a move into the Middle East on the part of the great confederacy under Soviet leadership. The importance

of this timing is emphasized in the following statement:

But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel [the angel of the Third Woe], when he shall begin to sound [literally *is about to sound*], the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets. (Rev. 10:7.)

Paul refers to that mystery:

Behold, I shew you a mystery: We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. (I Cor. 15:51-52.)

IT IS THIS MYSTERY of the resurrection and translation that is to become known when the Angel of the Third Woe is about to sound. The Lord's thief-like appearing is associated with the revealing of this mystery; therefore, the pronouncement of the sudden coming as a thief in the midst of the gathering for the Battle of That Great Day of God Almighty is both ominous and electrifying.

In His Olivet discourse (Matt. 24) Jesus associated the appearing of the Sign of the Son of Man in heaven with the revealing of the mystery of the translation and resurrection. That Sign will signal His arrival and presence, but not His triumphant return, which will come at the close of world conflict as set forth in the latter portion of the

19th chapter of Revelation.

Between His appearing, when the resurrected dead and the translated living ascend to meet Him (I Thess. 4:16-17), and the day when He returns triumphantly and defeats His foes and the foes of His Kingdom (Rev. 19:11-21), the events covered by the Third, or Red, Woe will transpire, climaxing in the defeat of Gog of the land of Magog when God intervenes to bring evil aggression to an end.

Then Jesus Christ, as King of kings and Lord of lords, will reign forever. Associated with Him in the government of His Kingdom will be those who were worthy to be numbered among the company ascending to meet Him at the time of the reaping from the cloud. All this will bring about the fulfillment of the marvelous prophecy by the Prophet Isaiah:

Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even forever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this. (Isa. 9:7.)

The prophets longed to see this day, yet not they, but we, have been granted the privilege to be living at such a time in order to observe the fulfillment of their predictions and, God willing, to become eyewitnesses of the Majesty and Power of the soon coming of the Lord.

SCIENTISTS AND FISHERMEN the world over were amazed when they heard the news. It was unbelievable, in the form of a scientific report, reserved and unpretentious, by Johannes Schmidt, a young Danish oceanographer. For centuries, scientists had been trying to solve the mystery of the eel. As late as 1920 the mystery remained unsolved.

Now here was Johannes Schmidt, naturalist and oceanographer, with the most startling discovery of all. The young eels, said Schmidt, are born far out at sea, 2,000 to 5,000 miles from home.

It was fantastic. Any fisherman could tell you that eels were strictly a fresh water fish. Farmers in Kentucky could show you eels that had lived in their mill ponds for more than ten years and were as much at home as the bullheads and sunfish. Naturalists knew that most of these mill pond eels, when they reached a certain age, migrated downstream

to brackish water. This happened in the early fall and then the river fishermen reaped a mighty harvest. All along the coast of Eastern North America and Western Europe their eel pots came up filled with big slippery female eels, fat and sleek from ten years of feeding in the inland ponds. For a few days the fishing was good. Then the eels disappeared—as silently and as mysteriously as they had come—never to return. Then, early each spring, millions upon millions of baby eels, as transparent as glass and about three inches long appeared in the same brackish waters. Where did they come from? No one knew.

Born in the land of the Vikings, Schmidt, at an early age, decided to become a botanist. After being graduated with honors from Copenhagen University, he became an assistant at the Danish Biological Station. Dr. J. Petersen, director of the station and a noted fisheries

by Justin F. Denzel



HE SOLVED THE MYSTERY OF THE EEL

expert, noticed Schmidt's flare for organization and research. He influenced the young scientist to join his staff and soon the boy began a career that was to make him one of the world's greatest oceanographers.

Aboard the steam trawler, *Thor*, Schmidt set out on his first expedition. He mapped out the breeding grounds of the cod and other related species of food fish and determined their early life history and migrations. On May 22, 1904, while sailing through the waters off the Faroe Islands, the plagic net of the *Thor* brought up a strange and little known form of life. It was a small fish about the size and shape of a willow leaf, completely transparent.

SCHMIDT immediately recognized the creature as the larval form of the common eel—but such a specimen never before had been found outside the Mediterranean.

Since the little fish were the larval forms, Schmidt reasoned that if he could trace smaller and smaller larvae, he might eventually reach the spot in the ocean where the newly hatched eels were born. In Copenhagen, Schmidt placed his research scheme before the International Council for The Exploration of The Sea and The Danish Fisheries Commission. They realized its value to the Scandinavian eel fisheries and gave him their support.

Aboard the *Thor* with his small

staff, Schmidt sailed into the Atlantic. From the Bay of Biscay, north to the Arctic Circle they towed nets at various depths, at all hours of the day. The nets came in heavy with the swimming floating life of mid-ocean. Always there were scores of the transparent larvae they were searching for, but always the large forms, larvae that were about to turn into elvers.

They started all over again. The nets were sent deeper, to 90 to 100 fathoms. When they came up they were filled with stranger hobgoblins of the depths but never any of the small transparent larvae. This went on for two years. When the *Thor* pulled into Copenhagen, she had a splendid collection of ocean life, but the riddle of the eel remained unsolved.

Back in his laboratory, Schmidt reread the reports of Kauf, Grassi and Calandruccio, searching for a clue. In all these yellowed documents and dry-as-dust reports, one name was repeated over and over—the Mediterranean Sea.

In the winter of 1908, with his hydrographic charts and a small crew, he sailed into the Mediterranean aboard the *Thor*. Down went the fine-meshed nets; they took hundreds of the large eel larvae, glassy, three-inch fellows, but the tiny ones were not to be found.

A report from his good friend, Dr. Hjort of Norway, helped to start the search all over again. Hjort, while collecting marine life in mid-

Atlantic, had brought up a few specimens of *Leptocephalus*, or eel larva, under two inches long.

THIS WAS the information Schmidt had needed. On a large wall map of the Atlantic he drew a line from Iceland diagonally to the Straits of Gibraltar. With one stroke of the pencil the reason for his failures became amazingly clear. To the east of this line lay the comparatively shallow waters off the European land mass, to the west the deep Atlantic. If the eel was originally a deep sea species, as Schmidt thought, then its breeding grounds would be found somewhere west of the line. That meant the entire western Atlantic must be explored. He had neither the ships nor the funds for such an enterprise.

Taking his problem directly to the commercial steamship companies, he spoke to the practical business men, and as Schmidt talked they must have caught something of his enthusiasm.

Yes, they would help; they would send some of their best captains to Schmidt for instructions.

The specimens began to come in—precious transparent larvae, carefully preserved in little vials with full information as to date of capture, locality and weather conditions—hundreds of them, from off the Azores, from mid-ocean, from all over the Atlantic.

Then the state, together with

a private packing company, gave Schmidt a boat, the *Margrethe*. This schooner sailed in the summer of 1913 to explore the Western Atlantic. A few months later, in a wild storm off the island of Saint Thomas, she was wrecked. This was a bitter blow to Schmidt, who was certain he had the answer to the eel mystery almost within his grasp.

Before he could raise funds and outfit another ship, war had come. The German U-boats were roaming the Atlantic. There was no room for active exploration so Schmidt turned to the tedious job of reviewing and recording his collections from previous expeditions.

Under the magnifying lens went the hundreds of tiny specimens, to be measured and compared. Schmidt counted the teeth and vertebrae of each one. As he did this, another piece of this jigsaw puzzle fell into place.

Schmidt found that all larvae taken in the far western Atlantic averaged 107 vertebrae while those taken closer to Europe averaged 114.

All the specimens with 107 vertebrae were undoubtedly larvae of the American eel, all those with 114 vertebrae were larvae of the European eel. Find the breeding grounds of one and you have found the breeding grounds of the other.

For seven years Schmidt waited—for the war to end and for a ship to take him to the spot in the Atlantic where he knew the answer must be found.

Then, Schmidt's waiting was over. In 1920, he got his ship, the *Dana I*. He took her into the Atlantic on a zigzag course heading southwest. Each day the nets went down, and each day came up with smaller and smaller larvae, well under two inches now. Then finally the ship reached a spot south-southeast of Bermuda, a vast area of floating green-brown seaweed, known as the Sargasso Sea. In this watery waste, Schmidt found the breeding grounds of the eel.

TO THIS SPOT after an undersea journey of from two to eight months come the eels—the big silver females and the smaller black males—to mate and to lay their millions of eggs 500 fathoms beneath the floating weed and then to die.

Just as Schmidt had predicted, they found the breeding place of the American eel, not far removed from that of its European cousin, in the same Sargasso Sea.

Now Schmidt followed the tiny larvae on their long migration. By floating freely in the ocean currents, particularly currents of the Gulf Stream, they are wafted north, then in a wide sweep due east across the North Atlantic to the shores of Europe.

The American larvae develop rapidly. Within a year they are strong enough to leave the moving currents and make for the rivers of North America. The European larvae at this time are virtually infants.

It is nearly two years later, when the currents have brought them close to European shores, that they have developed sufficiently to strike out independently for their native rivers.

Cautious as all good scientists are, Schmidt wanted to be certain that everything he claimed was 100 per cent accurate. Again he put to sea, spending a full year retracing his early steps, even touching the Mediterranean. His work was confirmed, down to the last fact. He published his startling announcement in 1922 in a British scientific journal.

Schmidt was 45 years old, with years of work ahead of him. Although Schmidt's name will always be associated with his work on the eel, during his life he unraveled scores of other oceanic mysteries.

In 1928, he launched what was perhaps the most ambitious project of his entire career, an oceanographical expedition around the world. He published a total of over 140 scientific papers, monographs and books in the field of oceanography.

In 1933, at the age of 56, while working on the large series of monographs of his round-the-world expedition, he died. The discoveries made by this man were not world shaking; they were intriguing rather than spectacular. Through the centuries men had sought the answers to these riddles—only one had the tenacity to find the solution—he solved the mystery of the eel—Johannes Schmidt.

THE BOOK SHELF

HE GHOSTED FOR CLARE LUCE

By Harold Lord Varney

MINE ENEMY GROWS OLDER. By Alexander King. Simon and Schuster, New York. 374 pp., \$4.50.

FOR OVER 30 YEARS, a fantastic character, whose trade mark is his invariable pink tie, has hovered around the outskirts of New York journalism. An admittedly gifted illustrator and cover man (he has illustrated 60 books), he has been in and out of most of the picture publications. He has worked for the AMERICAN MERCURY, and he tells an amusing experience of his menacing encounter with a former MERCURY editor. But the highlight of his career, which finally bogged down into drug addiction, was his term with the Luce as one of the early editors of *Life*.

Alexander King's great asset has been his restless and original imagination. He is one of those unhappy individuals perpetually fated to conceive marketable ideas which other men use as escalators to fabulous success. One of those whom King apparently served as an idea man was Clare Boothe Luce. In his book he virtually claims major credit for the success of her play, *Margin for Error*.

His opinion of the literary Clare is not flattering. He ticks her off in a sen-

tence: "What she did have was a wild talent for purposeful acquisitiveness and a fantastic gift for merchandising her accomplishments."

Nor does he have an exalted opinion of the male half of the *Time-Life* pair, Henry R. Luce. The picture of Luce which emerges from King's pages is that of a stuffy, pompous individual, who has achieved incredible success by exploiting the abilities of other and less-assured men. Probably the most interesting section of King's opus is his unsparing description of the *Life* staff, and the *Life* editor's wives. He conveys the atmosphere of fear which pervades the *Life* office: "Nearly everybody was scared stiff of his job. Scared gall-green." King escaped from the Luce net after a few turbulent years. His opinion of the present *Life* editorial circle remains sour.

In the sycophantic world of contemporary New York magazinedom, it is a rare experience to encounter an uninhibited talker like King. He blurts out what other men would like to say, but do not. We need not accept some of his port-side opinions and biases to find him a rare reading experience. *Mine Enemy Grows Older* is obviously only part of the King story but it is the most incandescent part.

JOHN O'HARA BEGINS TO BORE

By Richard McLaughlin

FROM THE TERRACE. By John O'Hara. Random House, New York. 897 pp. \$6.95.

IT APPEARS that the more ambitious some American novelists become the less selective and more wordy their books are. Certainly this has been true of John O'Hara in recent years. He has traveled far from the thirties when his *Appointment in Samara* and *Butterfield 8* made you wonder if he shouldn't have taken up sanitary engineering for a career instead of writing.

But, whether readers could stomach O'Hara's highly spiced boudoir excursions or not, at least they were novels with a sense of unity and orderly form. Today, elephantiasis seems to have gotten into the main artery of his writing.

Mr. O'Hara's latest panoramic tour of a Pennsylvania town (Port Johnson is literary kin to his Gibbstown, Pa.) is, happily, of a more serious vein, and has a higher purpose. In fact, it hits its highest peak as social commentary. The disintegrating forces which play havoc with our American way of life are carefully examined even brooded over, as O'Hara surveys the modern scene and solemnly asks: where did things go off the track?

Clay pigeon for O'Hara's verbal target practice (his marksmanship is not always accurate) is Alfred Eaton, the tycoon hero of his novel.

At 50, Alfred Eaton, instead of being near the top of the pile, is spiritually near the bottom. He is, for all his social ease and prosperity, an abject figure, resigned to haunting fashionable New York clubs, seeking solace in the company of older men, where he can avoid facing the steady dissolution of his second marriage. How did Alfred Eaton arrive at this mid-century low ebb? Before Mr. O'Hara gets round to explaining the cause the reader must bear with him while some 50 years of back history is reviewed, while close to one hundred characters are turned inside out, their public and private lives given a thoroughly Pepsian treatment.

O'Hara spends too much time observing every convention in Alfred Eaton's privileged world. It is here, I think, that O'Hara's book bogs down. He inundates us with trivia and too much mechanical detail when he should be getting on with his story.

And that story is not a pretty story from the personal point of view, yet O'Hara reveals more compassion for Eaton than he has for his fictional heroes in the past.

Solemn, sometimes ponderous in his elegiac portrait of a twentieth century tycoon, his notable ear and eye for American speech and local color have not deserted him.

There are countless fascinating and vividly alive scenes in the book which testify to the social historian's genuine nostalgia, if not to the novelist's larger vision. Whatever chilled Alfred Eaton's soul, O'Hara's probing has not gone deep enough to give us more than sociological reasons—case-book data at best.

WHEN RUSSIA WAS OUR FRIEND

CZARS AND PRESIDENTS. By Alexander Tarsaidze. McDowell, Obolensky. New York. 384 pp. \$6.50

AFTER 41 YEARS of continuous Communist rule in Moscow, few Americans can reconstruct the picture of the old Imperial Russia. This is particularly true because the last years of the Romanovs were darkened by a rankling public opinion hostility in the United States which had been touched off initially by the publication in 1891 of George Kennan's sensational *Siberia and the Exile System*. The publicity picture of Russia that was in the American mind, in the final years before Communism, was of a dark, backward land given to inhuman political and ethnic persecution. This prevailingly bad press explains partially why so many non-Marxist Americans were willing to welcome even Lenin in 1917.

Alexander Tarsaidze has made a needed contribution to historical accuracy in his fascinating study of the years before the nineties when Imperial Russia was young America's valued friend, hailed in the press as our "ally." A native of Tiflis, Georgia, Mr. Tarsaidze served with the Hoover American Relief Administration, later becoming an American citizen. His book is the distillation of 20 years of continuous research in the history of Russian-American relations.

That history was far more extensive than present-day readers imagine. Mr. Tarsaidze tells the forgotten story of

Russia's restless and ambitious explorations in the eighteenth century which led her eventually to Alaska and even to Fort Ross in California, north of San Francisco. Such legendary figures as Vitus Bering, Nicholas Rezanov, Rear Admiral Putiatin, George Anton Scheffer and Ivan Kuskov come to life in his story. The Russian reach for the Pacific Northwest, which was curbed by the Monroe Doctrine, is familiar to many Americans. Not so well known is the story of Russia's attempt to establish sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands, during which a Russian fort was established on the island of Kauai. Until the abandonment of Fort Ross in 1841, Russia was an alert competitor of the United States in the expansionist movement which took us to the Pacific Coast.

One of the contributions of the book is its documented study of the aid which Imperial Russia gave to President Lincoln during the most difficult period of the Civil War. With Palmerston controlling England and Napoleon III ruling France, the United States came very near to armed intervention in support of the Confederacy in the gloomy months of 1863. What checked Palmerston and Napoleon was Russia's firm support of the North. The world was startled on September 24, 1863, when part of the Russian fleet under Admiral Lesovsky appeared off Governor's Island. Almost simultaneously, Russia's smaller Pacific Fleet entered the Bay of San Francisco. Faced with the fact of war with Russia if they intervened in American affairs, England and France marked time. The Russians remained in New York until 1864 when the out-

come of the war was already certain. The goodwill resulting from this incident culminated in 1867 in the sale of Alaska to the United States and the final withdrawal of Russia from this hemisphere.

Mr. Tarsaidze's book is full of historic riches. It is profusely illustrated. Its publication will help to reestablish a badly needed balance in our attitudes toward Russia. One of its effects will be to convince its readers that there is another Russia for which the Khrushchevs and the Mikoyans do not speak.—H. L. V.

A LOOK INSIDE

By Robert Thompson

THEY CRY FOR MERCY. By Gene Janas. Vantage Press, New York. \$3.75, 236 pp.

CHAIN-WHIPPING is reported in this book, as well as other ghastly practices visited upon the mentally ill in a state hospital. The author, erstwhile newspaperman, writes a fictionalized account of his tenure as an attendant to the insane. He labors under suspicion and threats not to expose conditions as he finds them. A sense of decency and humanness compels him to effect the release of at least one patient who is wrongly committed.

The story is carried by a love affair between himself and a young woman psychiatrist. They team up to persuade a man's wife to accept custody of an inmate and restore him to family life. The obstacles they encounter, the indifference of doctors, the misinformation of the public re-

garding the so-called mentally ill reveal the need for better methods to determine who should be discharged from such places and who must be locked up for the rest of their days. For a great many persons, suffering nervous breakdowns, the state mental hospitals prove to be traps from which they cannot escape.

Drug addicts, knifers, and molesters of women are lodged indiscriminately with those who have merely suffered an extreme nervousness. The violent, the fractionally violent, the mute and unresponsive catatonic are all herded in together. "The well ones will cure the sick ones," seems to be the theory by which the hospital operates. Too often the reverse is true. Too often a close association with the kleptomaniacs, the perverts, the hopelessly demented, keeps the reclaimable inmates off balance. The state hospital provides custodial care; cure is another matter.

The author finds the employees, doctors, nurses, attendants, of a low order occupationally. Bribery and thieving of the inmates' personal supplies are prevalent. He notes men trying to enjoy a smoke of scrappings from the floor rolled up in newspaper in place of a genuine cigaret. Candy, toiletries, and other luxuries brought in by visitors are often taken from the inmates by attendants.

An inmate who seems destined to die on one shift is kept alive until the next shift comes on duty by administering large potions of black coffee, not for any humane reason, but so that the outgoing shift will not have to "pack" the corpse for burial.

For anyone who needs his social conscience awakened this book may do the trick.

THE MERCURY FORUM

Sir: Suppose even Roosevelt had proposed in 1939 that, *in peacetime* (which the present administration insists we now enjoy), our annual budget be around 80 billion dollars.

Suppose that he had proposed a visible national debt of over \$280 billion dollars, *and an additional hidden debt of at least twice that amount*; a tax on corporate incomes of 52 per cent and on personal incomes of from 20 to 91 per cent; and an annual deficit, despite budget, debt, and taxes, of some ten to 15 billion dollars—plus huge sums borrowed and spent outside of the budget.

Suppose the Communists then around Roosevelt had demanded, *at that time*, every form and degree of socialism (which we now have) consistent with, and measured by, such expenditures; and that this had been for the visible purpose of changing the economic and political structure of the United States, so that it could be merged with Soviet Russia into a one-world Communist-controlled government. It would have been foolhardy beyond measure, 20 years ago, for the “liberals” thus even to have proposed what the American people now are supinely accepting.

A rancher in Wyoming, who is a good friend of ours, vouches for the accuracy of a revealing bit of natural history. If you toss a frog into hot water, he will jump out so quickly that he suffers no harm. But if you toss a frog into tepid water, and then

heat it gradually, you can cook him dead before he tries to escape. *Which seems to prove that frogs are no smarter than the American people.*

ROBERT WELCH
Belmont, Mass.

Sir: I have just read “Fusion: Man’s Ultimate Venture” and concur in the views of Mr. Litynski. If Russia does not develop this greatest of economic and industrial weapons before we do, the United States should freely give all nations the entire data on our solution of the problem. This will free all nations from economic want and dependence on any nation, Communist or Capitalist. It will enable American patriots to reverse the tide of creeping socialism in our country by freeing America from the grip of the international bankers. Either patriots take this opportunity for Freedom or else the Federal bureaucrats will use fusion’s unlimited power to advance the welfare-state theory and we will lose our liberty to the greatest monopoly the world has ever seen.

EUGENE ENSLIN
DuBois, Pa.

Bombs too?—Ed.

Sir: Let’s face it! Religion has advanced and changed considerably from the aspect that Bob Jones Jr. views it in “They Talked Themselves Out of It” (December, 1958 issue). It has to be applied more realistically to man so that he can live with more humanity to man.

Also "one world" was never intended to be one universal government ruled by one; but many nations ruled by many and still united for the kingdom of all mankind, under Christian principles or what other religions and cultures people take in. Our constitution states freedom of religion. It is the American way.

It is fine to broadcast the belief of Christianity to Christian people, but to encumber other religions, beliefs and cultures and submit one universal government established by "our" God and ruled under "Jesus Christ" is infringing on the beliefs of the other man from the deepest part of Africa, Australia or to the most civilized parts of America and Europe.

If anything, we Christians must understand their religions, beliefs and ways of life in order that we may even benefit our ways of life.

LOUIS SCOLISH
Anchorage, Alaska

Sir: Many writers of letters to the papers and periodicals, commenting on conditions that prevail in this country today, seem to attribute such conditions to "apathy" on the part of the general public.

I feel that I must differ with this diagnosis. I believe it is due to sheer "ignorance." By this I do not mean to imply that the general public lacks academic education, but that too many are ignorant of certain facts and have built up many illusions that have not been grounded in fact.

For instance: one man will say: "Oh, it wouldn't matter if we did have a depression tomorrow; look at the money we have in the Social Security fund." The sad fact is that we have

not any money in this fund. All monies collected by Social Security go into the general fund of the Treasury and are used to strew over all of Europe and Asia, to foe as well as friend.

Another great illusion is: "Look at all of the gold we have in Fort Knox." How many people realize that the greatest part of the gold in Fort Knox is pledged to foreign nations, subject to their demand. Suppose there should be a general demand from Europe and Asia for this pledged gold, and both Europe and Asia should go back on the gold standard? What would we pay for gold in order to carry on our international obligations?

But, the greatest of these illusions, and the most terrifying is: "The communist threat has ceased to be a menace in these United States." J. Edgar Hoover warned this nation, years ago, that one day the communist party would go underground, and that, at that time, it would be most dangerous of all.

How many of us have heard, or read, of the man who has been feeling ill for many years; who, in his own opinion, is not so ill as to require a medical checkup. Finally he goes for an examination and learns it is too late. Cancer has extended its roots all through his system and there is no cure for him. It is too late.

Communism in this country, today, is extending its roots in just such a manner. Unless we, each and every one of us, awaken and join together to combat this evil, we, too, will awaken, too soon, to learn that there is no cure; it is too late. Delenda est communism!

WARREN H. FIELD, SR.
Texas City, Texas

If the Independent Oil Producers were really "independent," they would never sit back and permit eleven Oil Giants to flood our country with foreign oil.

Believe it or not, thirty days a month eleven Oil Giants import unlimited quantities of foreign oil. (They import over $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total.) Meanwhile, the 7,200 important *domestic tax-paying producers* are allowed to produce a small quantity of oil *only eight days a month*.

Is the plan to break the "independents" who discover most of our oil?

Will the Oil Giants use the hundreds of millions of dollars they recently gathered in to acquire the distress properties thereby created?

Congress must assert its Constitutional rights and fix import quotas. The depletion allowance was granted by Congress to encourage *domestic* production. Congress should cancel it on all foreign drilling.

The military and civilian safety of these United States requires strong domestic independent oil producers!



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